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# MARISIA

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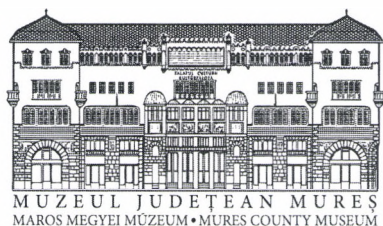


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MUZEUL JUDEȚEAN MUREȘ  
MAROS MEGYEI MŰZEUM • MUREȘ COUNTY MUSEUM



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# A NEOLITHIC SETTLEMENT FROM TÂRGU MUREȘ.

## I. THE COURTYARD OF THE FORTRESS

Sándor BERECKI\*  
Attila Nándor HÁGÓ\*\*

*During the excavations in the courtyard of the Târgu-Mureș Fortress, traces of several prehistoric settlements were documented. The earliest of these dates from the early Neolithic. The majority of the ceramic material dated to the IIIB phase of the Criș Culture comes from the layer, only a few archaeological features from this period were researched.*

**Keywords:** settlement, pottery, Early Neolithic, Criș Culture, small finds  
**Cuvinte cheie:** așezare, ceramică, neolitic timpuriu, cultura Criș

The archaeological site from the fortress in Târgu Mureș is situated on a first, dominant terrace of the left bank of the Mureș River, on a wide plateau starting from the central area of the city, margined eastward by several high hills. The first archaeological investigations of the site were led by István Kovács in 1907, and later, in 1963, further research was undertaken by Alexandru Bogdan; both surveys focused on the medieval and modern fortification or on the church.<sup>1</sup> Research started by Adrian A. Rusu in 1999 and continued almost uninterruptedly<sup>2</sup> until 2017 by Zoltán Soós in collaboration with several researchers. The latest excavations took place at the site of the Franciscan friary near the church and resulted first, indirectly then systematically in the archaeological research of the prehistoric

settlements from the plateau (Pl. I). Beside the research of the Franciscan friary and fortress, in 2009, rescue excavations had been undertaken in the courtyard of the Petru Maior University situated to the north from the fortress, where further Neolithic features were identified.

The first archaeological investigations from the fortress did not focus directly on the prehistoric settlements. Unfortunately, the archaeological material and documentation from the excavations from 1907 cannot be found, while the ones from the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were deposited mixed up and only briefly presented in an excavation report.<sup>3</sup> A few decades later a somewhat more detailed version was published.<sup>4</sup> The surveys of the last years' excavations resulted in substantial Neolithic archaeological material

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<sup>1</sup> BOGDAN 1967, 79–91.

<sup>2</sup> There were no archaeological excavations in 2000 and 2002.

<sup>3</sup> BOGDAN 1967, 79–91.

<sup>4</sup> PETICĂ–MOLNÁR 2000a; 2000b; MOLNÁR–PETICĂ 2001; PETICĂ–APAI 2003.



with a few identified features. On the territory of the fortress the site was investigated through trenches and surfaces. In some cases, the modern filling layer – which in some places was more than 1-metre-deep – was removed mechanically (Pl. I/2). The most significant results for the Neolithic site were provided by the excavations from the courtyard of the Petru Maior University, where a considerable quantity of pottery and animal bones were unearthed, which will be the subject of a later study.

The first investigations determined the stratigraphic chronology of the site, which was almost uniform throughout the fortress. The earliest settlement dates to the Early Neolithic, then the plateau was inhabited again in the Late Bronze Age.<sup>5</sup> The first levelling of the plateau can be dated to the beginning of the Early Iron Age, when an open settlement existed on this place.<sup>6</sup> Based on scarce Roman discoveries it seems that in the first centuries AD a small settlement was established on this terrace, and was followed by another habitat dating from the Early Migration Period.<sup>7</sup> Another important settlement was documented for the Early Middle Ages,<sup>8</sup> when large scale levelling preceded the building of the church and Franciscan friary during the fourteenth century. The building of civilian households in the middle of the sixteenth century was followed by the construction of towers and a fortification system in 1604–1658. This was a period of important landscape transformations. A new phase of building erections and reconstructions began in 1711 with the establishment of the Habsburg garrison in the fortress. Therefore, one can reflect on the intensity of the disturbance generated by later settlements and ground levelling activities to the prehistoric sites. The most significant intervention was undoubtedly caused by the construction of the friary the foundations of which were dug down into the

Bronze Age layer, while some dwellings, such as the cellar or the combustion chamber of the heating system were deepened into the sterile clay layer. Furthermore, the lime pits of the modern restauration works were often deepened into the Neolithic layer (Pl. II/1).

The Neolithic layer appeared at different depths from one area to another, on the one hand, as a result of the historical and recent anthropic ground levelling works of the terrace, and on the other, because of the natural slopes and uneven surface of the plateau (Pl. II). Generally, it appeared at an average depth of more than 2 metres from the present surface. In trench S1/1999, near the church, the lower part of the Neolithic layer was at 3.05 m with a significant agglomeration of archaeological material at 2.40–2.90 m. In trench S11/2001 and surface C7/2004 from the territory of the Franciscan friary the Neolithic layer was identified between 1.80 and 2.60 m again with a significant material agglomeration at 2.30–2.60 m, while in S23/2007 Neolithic finds were found 1.60–2.00 m deep. In sector B (Pl. I/2) the sterile clay stratum below the Neolithic layer appeared at a depth of 1.80 m, while in sector C (north of the friary, in the central area of the fortress) as well as outside the fortress towards east, in the courtyard of the university, this layer was at a depth of 1.15–1.30 m. The data suggests that during the Neolithic the hill had a slightly higher plateau in the area of the church, and gentle, uneven slopes in all directions with not too extensive, lower terraces.

Based on the horizontal stratigraphy of the site the Neolithic settlement covers a relatively large area. Unfortunately, the lack of major archaeological features from this period does not allow the evaluation of the settlement. Since the excavations revealed only an open air hearth – a rare occurrence in this period<sup>9</sup> – and two furnished surfaces, probably floors or clay platforms. The

<sup>5</sup> From the archaeological excavations of Al. Bogdan, Molnár and Petică (2001) published few Copper Age materials however, since the recent excavations did not document any traces from this period, we consider that either the Copper Age settlement was restricted only to the perimeter researched by the archaeologist from București, or – more likely – the published materials came from another site (most probably Șincai–Cetatea Păgânilor), which got mixed accidentally in the deposit with those from the fortress.

<sup>6</sup> BERECKI 2013a; 2013b; 2015.

<sup>7</sup> KÖRÖSFŐI 2009.

<sup>8</sup> LÁSZLÓ 2008.

<sup>9</sup> MAXIM 1999, 56.



surface of a rectangular hearth in C10 was flattened, it was 0.60 m long and placed on the top of a clay bed (Pl. II/5–6). One of the clay floors was found in surface C13 (Pl. II/3), while the second was researched in sector B (Pl. II/4). Both surfaces appeared as broad clay platforms and consisted of a relatively thin, approximately 0.08 m thick, yellowish-white clay stratum. The available archaeological data does not allow for an exact interpretation of the clay floors, which could either be open air platforms or the floor of buildings.

The Neolithic materials consist of a large quantity of ceramic, especially pottery fragments, but also few clay objects, animal bones, and a flint chip. Most pottery fragments are coarse (especially that of the pots and storage vessels) and semi-fine (middle sized pots, deep and shallow bowls, cups etc.); fine pottery is poorly represented only by a few fragments of deep bowls and small sized wares. The colour of the pottery is diverse, most of the fragments present different shades of brown (brownish-red, light and dark brown, yellowish-brown), while others are brick-red, grey, greyish-black or yellowish. They were tempered with organic and inorganic materials, sometimes mixed together: chaff, plants, shells, sand, silt, pebbles, and crushed sherds. Their surface treatment was influenced by the use of the wares. The coarse wares (storage vessels, large pots, and those used for cooking) usually had a less smoothened, rough surface, sometimes with sprinkled and organized or applied barbotine. The surface of the semi-fine pottery was relatively well smoothened, polished, sometimes covered with good quality slip. Generally, the pottery was fired in oxidation atmosphere, only rarely were these fired in a reducing environment or insufficiently fired, which demonstrates the use of open air firing in pits and less probably the use of kilns, which otherwise are documented for other sites from the early period of the Criș culture.<sup>10</sup>

Because of its fragmentation only general observations could be made regarding the typology of the pottery.<sup>11</sup>

Made from a good quality clay and evenly fired coarse and semi-fine pots are the most frequent vessels from this site. Their size varies, the mouth of the small ones has 80 to 100 mm, the medium sized pots' are 120–200 mm, while the mouth of the large ones is between 200 and 350 mm. Their surface is smoothened, coarse or rough, the mouth of the vessels is everted or straight, their neck is cylindrical and their body is globular. The diameter of their base is between 80–100 and 120–140 mm. Some of them show traces of secondary burning caused by their use on the fire. Pots are ornamented with incisions, finger pinches, finger impressions, simple and network incisions, spattered, and organized barbotine (Pl. III/1–2, 6–12, 17–18; IV/3, 11, 12–18; V/2–3, 8–13, 15–17, 19–23, 25–26; VI/2, 8–9; VII/1, 3–12, 16; VIII/1–6, 8–11, 13, 17, 19, 23–30; IX/2, 6–10, 14–17, 19–21, 24–28; X/4–10, 12–19, 22–23, 26, 32–35, 39–41; XI/1–2, 6–7; 10–12, 18–20, 22–23, 30–31; XII/13–17, 21; XIII/13–17, 21–23, 26–27).

Equally numerous are the preponderantly coarse storage vessels, with homogeneous clay matrix, tempered with chaff, crushed sherds or sand with pebbles (Pl. III/3; V/1, 14, 18; VII/27; VII/11, 18; VIII/22; IX/13; X/27–30, 36, 38; XI/5, 8–9, 15; XII/18–20; XIII/20). The shape of these vessels is cylindrical or sack-shaped with truncated neck, the rim of the vessels is straight or slightly everted. In most cases storage vessels are not ornamented, yet, sometimes finger pinches, finger and nail impressions, spattered and organized barbotine, knobs, cordons, and horse-shoe-shaped plastic ornaments appear. These recipients usually have two large circular handles on the body or on the shoulder of the vessel. Analogies for pots and storage vessels are known from sites in Transylvania, Banat or eastern Hungary.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> NICA 1978, 18–29; LICHARDOPOL 1984, 80–84, fig. 2/1–2; CIUTĂ ET AL. 2007, 121–122, fig. 23–26.

<sup>11</sup> Pottery categories were described according to the corroborated typologies of Gh. Lazarovici, Z. Maxim and Fl. Drașovean (LAZAROVICI 1979, 48–49, fig. 2; LAZAROVICI 1984, 66–67, fig. 6–7; LAZAROVICI–MAXIM 1995, fig. 38; MAXIM 1999, fig. 28; DRAȘOVEAN 1981, fig. 2).

<sup>12</sup> LAZAROVICI 1979, 65–66; DRAȘOVEAN 1981, 39; LAZAROVICI 1993, 47, pl. V/2; LAZAROVICI–MAXIM 1995, 96–99, 102, 113; MAKKAY–STARNINI 2008, fig. 2, Type IB1, IB1a, IB3 (pots), fig. 7, Type VIIA, VIIB, VIIC (storage vessels).



Deep bowls are of different dimensions, however, small and medium sized bowls predominate. These wares are semi-fine or fine with smoothened and sometimes polished surface, tempered with sand, chaff, crushed sherds, and their combination. The shape of their profile is truncated or straight, the rims are straight or slightly everted. The most frequent ornaments are the circular impressions under the rim (Pl. III/2, 5–8; VII/9; X/14–16), finger impressions (Pl. VII/19), finger pinches (Pl. V/24; XI/3), short cuts (Pl. XI/17) and simple or network incisions (Pl. V/4). However, most of the deep bowls are not ornamented (Pl. III/14–16, 19; IV/6, 10; VI/1; VII/2, 13–14; VIII/3, 12, 15, 20–21, 30–31; IX/3–5; X/5–6, 11; XII/10, 12, 19).

The large and medium sized shallow bowls with the diameter of the mouth ranging between 100 and 320 mm occur relatively rarely in this settlement. These semi-fine wares with well-smoothened and sometimes slippery surface are made of a good quality clay, tempered with sand, mica or crushed sherds. In rare cases, when they were ornamented, incised lines and finger impressions occur (Pl. XII/17; XIII/12, 21–22, 26). Both deep and shallow bowls were widely used in all sites of the Criș culture both in Transylvania (Gura Baciului, Galda de Jos, Hunedoara, Nandru, Sebeș, etc.) and Banat but in eastern Hungary as well.<sup>13</sup>

From the Neolithic site in Târgu Mureș two pots with foot-ring are known, which occur rarely in this period of the Criș culture.<sup>14</sup> Because of their fragmentary state the dimension or shape of the semi-fine ware with smoothened surface and tempered with crushed sherds, chaff and mica could not be reconstructed (Pl. IV/2, 8).

Somewhat more numerous are the semi-fine fragments of stemmed cups, made from good quality clay, with smoothened and sometimes

polished surface, tempered with chaff, fine and coarse sand, mica or crushed sherds. Based on their size cups with small foot and cups with high foot could be distinguished, while according to the shape of the foot there are cups with circular or simple straight bottom (Pl. IV/4, 9; VI/10–13; XII/11; XIII/14, 28). Unfortunately, in all cases the upper part of the container is missing which in this period of the culture are usually flat or globular.<sup>15</sup> This type of vessel is largely spread throughout the territory of the culture.<sup>16</sup>

Miniature vessels are specific for the Early Neolithic sites. They reproduce almost accurately the shape of middle and large sized pottery (especially pots, bowls and stemmed cups), at a scale which does not exceed a certain height or volume, nevertheless apparently they have a certain predefined function.<sup>17</sup> At Târgu Mureș such objects were not identified in closed features but in other contemporaneous settlements they appeared in houses, graves, and refuse pits. In this site they reproduce the shape of bowls at lower scale (Pl. IV/1, 5; IX/7; XI/7; XIII/7, 25). They are well smoothened, made from a good quality clay, tempered with chaff, fine sand, oxidizing and rarely reducing firing. Their colour is brownish-red, brick-red and different shades of brown. Most pieces are not decorated, only two fragments present impressions. These artefacts were interpreted as toys, objects made during the learning process of pottery, cultic elements of the domestic sanctuaries, medicinal recipients or cups used in alcohol consumption.<sup>18</sup>

Although, in the chronological level of the Transylvanian Criș culture in which the Neolithic settlement from Târgu Mureș–Cetate falls into, generally the pottery was ornamented also with painted patterns, however, such decorations were not documented for this site. Among the known ornaments one can find finger pinches

<sup>13</sup> LAZAROVICI 1979, 65–66; DRAȘOVEAN 1981, 39; LAZAROVICI–MAXIM 1995, 96–99; 102; MAKAY–STARNINI 2008, fig. 3, type IB4.

<sup>14</sup> MAKAY–STARNINI 2008, fig. 16/1–5.

<sup>15</sup> LAZAROVICI 1979, 48. pl. VII/C 9, 12; VII/G 4, 13–14.

<sup>16</sup> LAZAROVICI 1979, 65–66; DRAȘOVEAN 1981, 39; LAZAROVICI–MAXIM 1995, 96–99; 102; CIUTĂ 2002, fig. 7–8; MAKAY–STARNINI 2008, fig. 5, 12, Types II.

<sup>17</sup> LAZAROVICI 1979, 65–66; DRAȘOVEAN 1981, 39; UREM–KOTSU ET AL. 2002, 109–118; TOMAŽ 2005, 263; MAKAY–STARNINI 2008, fig. 9, Type XI; BĂCUEȚ–CRIȘAN 2013, 70.

<sup>18</sup> BÁNFFY 1991, 209–217; RACZY ET AL. 1994, 233; KARMANSKI 2005, 67, 69, fig. 42/1; TOMAŽ 2005, 265–266; BĂCUEȚ–CRIȘAN 2013, 70; KALICZ–KOÓS 2014, 39.



(Pl. III/10; V/5–14, 24–25; VI/8; VII/3; X/20–21, 24–26, 29–32, 34, 39, 41–42; XI/2, 4, 7–10), incised lines (Pl. V/1–2, 21, 23; XI/17), incised lines in networks (Pl. V/4, 15, 22; VI/2), simple cuts (Pl. V/17; XI/13–14), impressions (Pl. V/16, 26; XI/5; XIII/23–24), nail and finger impressions (Pl. VII/1, 6, 11; IX/1; X/8, 27, 37–38, 40), impressions on the upper part of the rim (Pl. VII/19; VIII/7; X/19), plastic ornaments (Pl. IV/16; VII/4; XI/3, 5–6), barbotine (Pl. III/1, 7; IV/17–18; VI/4; XII/16), impressed cordons (Pl. VIII/27; XI/16), and perforation, probably with a decoration role (Pl. X/12).

The rims of the vessels are of Y, A, J, Z, Q, T, H, V, G, U, I, P, K and W type according to the typology of Z. Maxim. The most frequent are the Y, A and J types, while in the case of the bottoms all twenty types defined for the Transylvanian Criş culture pottery are represented.<sup>19</sup> The small and medium sized, simple or double, oval, circular or elongated knobs were applied on the body and neck of the vessels (Pl. III/9; VI/7; VII/26; IX/18; XII/5). In one case a double knob was vertically attached (Pl. VII/26). Short impressed cordons were applied either vertically (Pl. VIII/27) or horizontally (Pl. XI/16). Present since the pre-Criş period in Transylvania<sup>20</sup> applied handles appear frequently on the pottery from the Târgu Mureş settlement. In the case of the large vessels (pots and storage vessels) handles were placed on the maximum diameter, while in the case of bowls they appear also on the upper part of the vessel, close to the mouth. Regarding their shape, most frequent are the circular and round-shaped handles (Pl. XI/21–26, 29–31; XII/1–4, 6–7) but flat or elongated handles exist, too (Pl. XI/27). In Z. Maxim's typology for Transylvania they are included in types X, Y, V and W.<sup>21</sup>

From the Neolithic site in Târgu Mureş three weights were also unearthed. One of them was circular (55 mm in diameter and 34 mm thick), with a perforation, brownish-grey colour, reducing firing, tempered with coarse sand and smoothened surface (Pl. XIV/6). Another weight was preserved fragmentary, it was made from the body of a brick-red vessel, tempered with chaff and coarse sand, with oxidizing firing and smoothened surface. Its section is slightly convex and it was perforated in the middle (Pl. XIV/5). A third massive, conical clay weight (110 mm high, 52 mm thick, diameter of the base 110 mm, diameter of the top 56 mm) had a coarse surface, oxidizing firing and brick-red colour with white spots (Pl. XIV/8). These objects are frequent in all Criş culture settlements<sup>22</sup> and they were assigned various functions, such as firedogs, supports, weapons, roof weights, fishing net weights, disks, tokens, spindle-whorls, objects used in magic etc.<sup>23</sup>

Having a functional or magic role<sup>24</sup> and a well-defined typology<sup>25</sup> the clay altars, characteristic recipients for the Criş culture, are represented at Târgu Mureş only by a fragment of a foot (Pl. XIV/3). The surface of the 40 mm long and 17 mm in diameter, semi-fine foot is smoothened, brownish-red, tempered with fine sand and crushed sherds; it probably came from a three-legged altar similar to the ones found in Transylvania at Gura Baciului, Ocna Sibiului, Suplacul de Barcău and Leţ or in Banat and eastern Hungary.<sup>26</sup>

Another fragment from a cylindrical clay object probably comes from a zoomorphic figurine, portraying presumably a bovine (Pl. XIV/4). The semi-fine piece was made from a good quality clay, brownish-red, its surface was smoothened and polished, tempered with fine sand (length: 50 mm, width: 25 mm, thickness: 28 mm). A second

<sup>19</sup> MAXIM 1999, fig. 29, 31.

<sup>20</sup> CIUTĂ 2005, 87, pl. XXXIX/2–8.

<sup>21</sup> MAXIM 1999, fig. 30.

<sup>22</sup> KUTZIAN 1944, pl. I/12; II/11–12; XLV/1–20; LAZAROVICI 1979, 31; MAXIM 1999, 49; MAKAY–STARNINI 2008, fig. 121–122; STARNINI 2014, fig. 121–122.

<sup>23</sup> LAZAROVICI–MAXIM 1995, fig. 31/6–8; 32; IERCOŞAN 1995, fig. 9/2; MAKAY–STARNINI 2008, fig. 143/1–8; 358/17–18; MAZĂRE 2013, 27–67.

<sup>24</sup> MAXIM 1999, 61.

<sup>25</sup> MAXIM 2000, 121–130.

<sup>26</sup> LAZAROVICI 1979, 34–35; LAZAROVICI–MAXIM 1995, 148; MAXIM 1999, 61; MAKAY–STARNINI 2008, fig. 69–88; STARNINI 2014, fig. 69–88.



dark brown, semi-fine zoomorphic figurine was made of good quality clay, tempered with fine sand and smoothened surface (Pl. XIV/2). The piece probably figures a deer or other horned animal, frequently met in all chronological phases of this culture.<sup>27</sup> With analogies all over the area of the Criș culture and connected to certain feasts or magical or religious practices but also seen as toys, the Early Neolithic idols portray in a realistic manner the domestic and wild animals or birds.<sup>28</sup>

The Neolithic site from Târgu Mureș yielded a single stone object a flint chip found in the cultural layer (Pl. XIV/1). Typologically the piece has an N-type profile of the DD type stone tools.<sup>29</sup> Such objects were found at Gura Baciului, Zăuan or in Hungary.<sup>30</sup>

As it is known, the evolution of the Criș culture in Transylvania was divided by Gh. Lazarovici in four chronological phases, each with several sub-phases; a system which was adopted for the other adjacent regions, too.<sup>31</sup> From demographic point of view, the culture had its apogee during the third phase, and the most inhabited region during this time was the valley of the Mureș River. Based on typo-chronological considerations (the forms and ornaments of the pottery, figurines, weights) settlement from Târgu Mureș can be dated to the IIIB period – dated by radio-carbon between 5800/5700 BC and 5600/5500 BC<sup>32</sup> – in a period, when the first influences of the Vinča culture can be attested, which can also be seen in the case of the pottery from the settlement in Târgu Mureș.

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<sup>27</sup> LAZAROVICI-MAXIM 1995, fig. 23/1–9.

<sup>28</sup> KUTZIÁN 1944, pl. XX/1b; XXII/1–3; XLI/4, 7–9; XLII/1–2; XLVII/17–19; MAKAY 1972, 40, 61; LAZAROVICI 1979, 32–34; KARMANSKI 1988; LAZAROVICI-MAXIM 1995, fig. 23; MAXIM 1999, 40; MAKAY-STARNINI 2008, fig. 52; 56/4, 7; 58/1–4; 59/1–2; 240/1; BECKER 2014, 30; STARNINI 2014, fig. 52; 56/4, 7; 58/1–5; 59/1–2.

<sup>29</sup> MAXIM ET AL. 1993, 53, fig. 2/DD, 4/N.

<sup>30</sup> LAZAROVICI 1993, 45, pl. III/1; STARNINI 1994, 101–110, fig. 5/8–13; LAZAROVICI-MAXIM 1995, fig. 17/11, 17.

<sup>31</sup> LAZAROVICI 1969, 21; LAZAROVICI 1977, 34–42; LAZAROVICI 1979, 24; MAKAY 1982; KALICZ 1983; LAZAROVICI 1984, 54–55; BÖKÖNYI 1989, 13; LAZAROVICI 2005, 23–78; LAZAROVICI-MAXIM 1995, 199–204; MAXIM 1999, 32; LUCA ET AL. 2011, 7, tab. 1.

<sup>32</sup> MANTU 1995, 215, 226; LUCA ET AL. 2011, 14.

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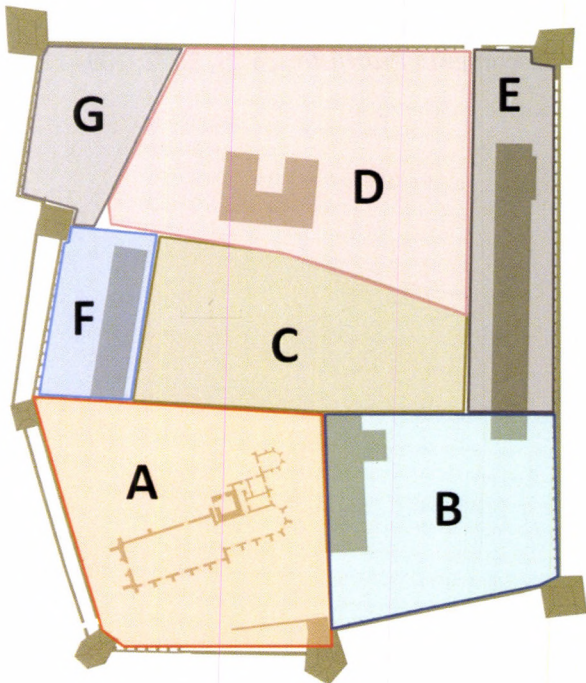
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1

■ Areas with Neolithic finds in the fortress ■ Neolithic finds at the university



2

Plate I. 1. Aerial view of the site (photo: Z. Czajlik, July 2016);  
2. Archaeological sectors in the fortress (drawing: Z. Györfi).





1



2



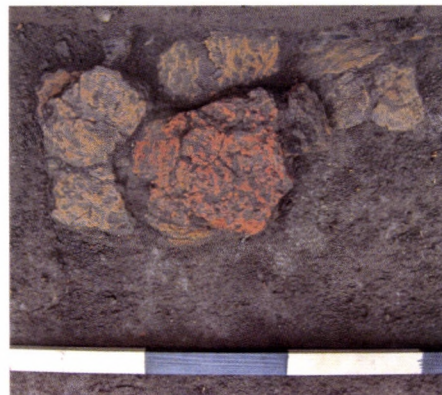
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6

Plate II. 1–2. The Neolithic layer in C7 and C16;  
3–4. Neolithic floors in C13 and B sector/C1; 5–6. The hearth in C10.



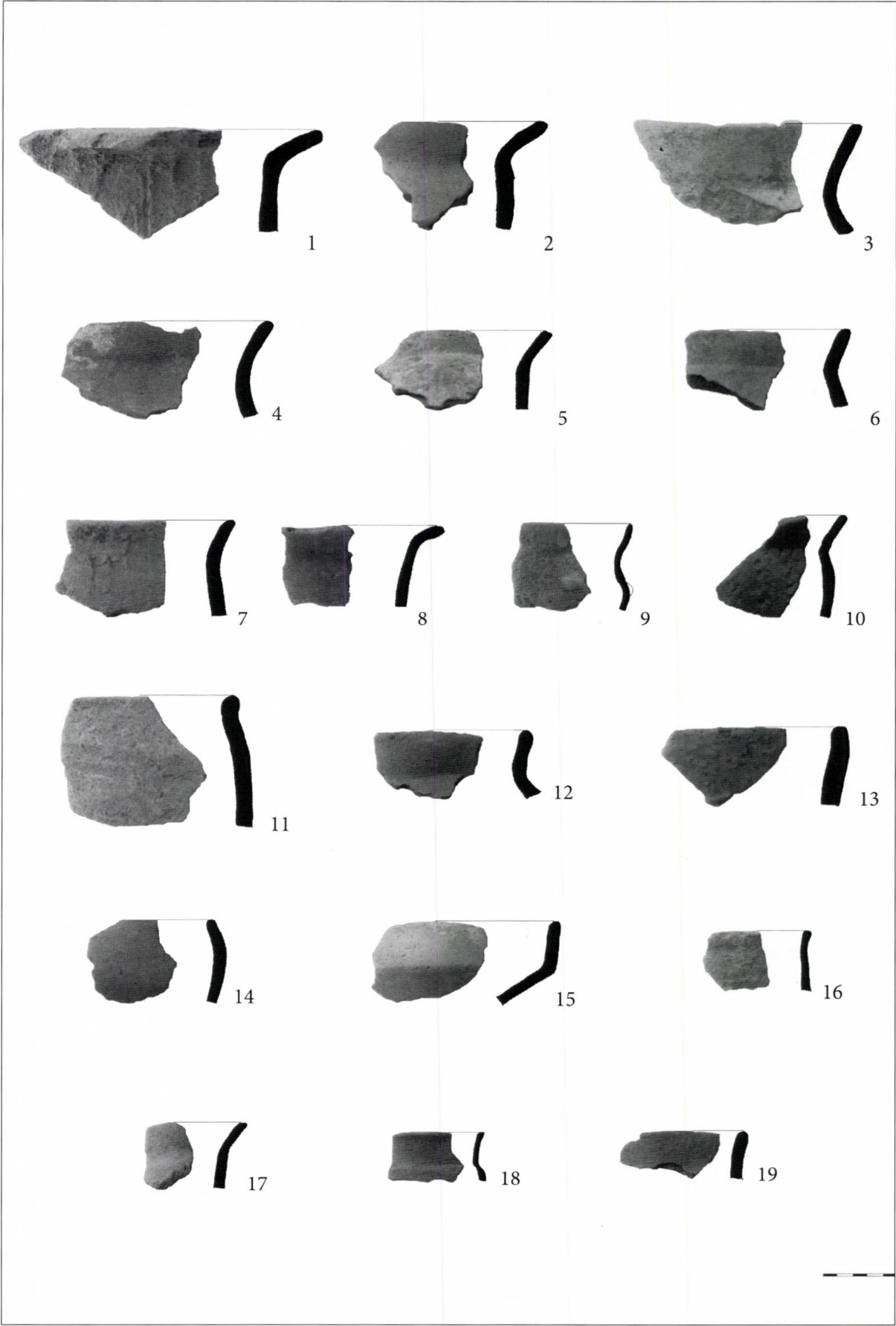


Plate III. Neolithic pottery from the excavations of Al. Bogdan.

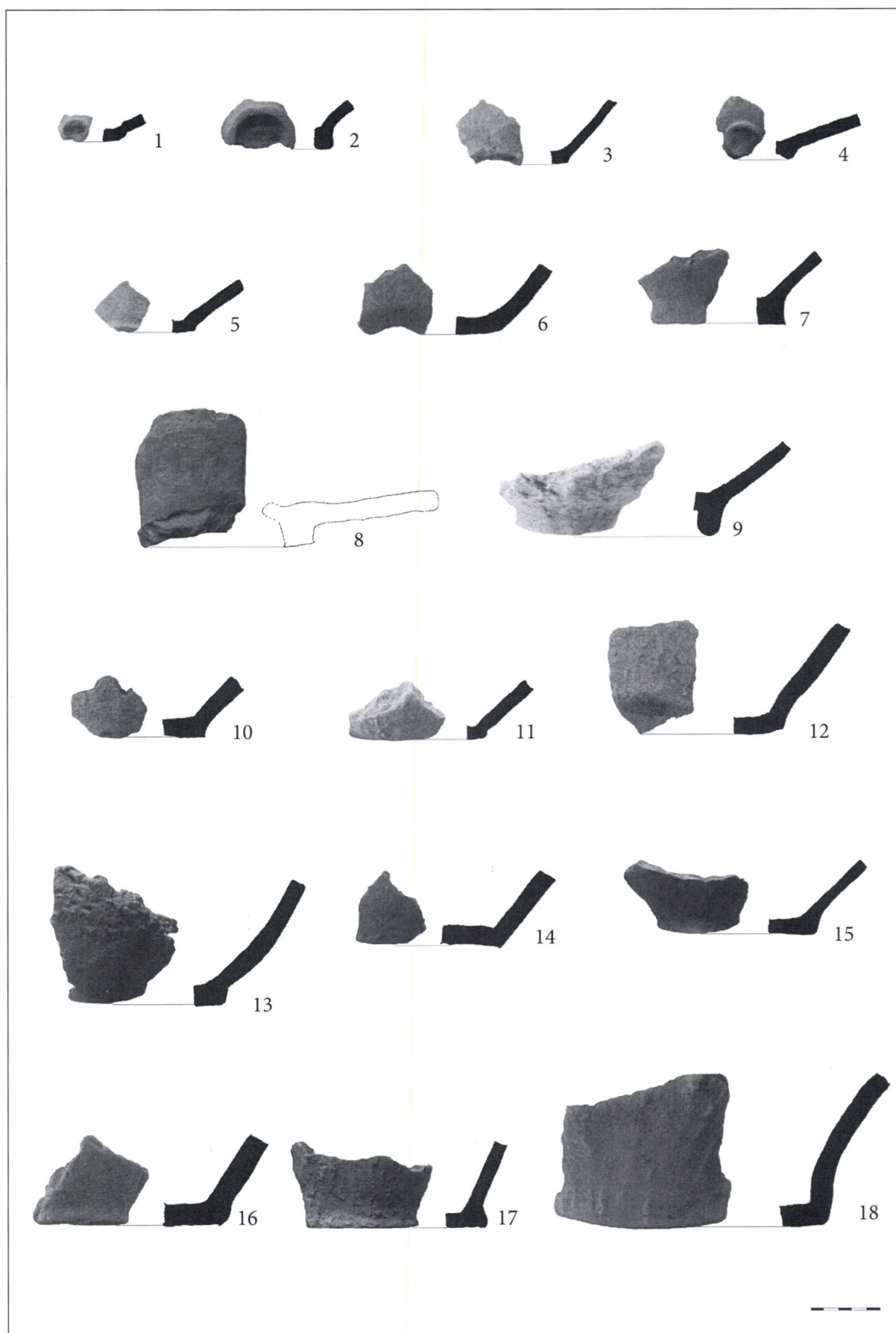


Plate IV. Neolithic pottery from the excavations of Al. Bogdan.



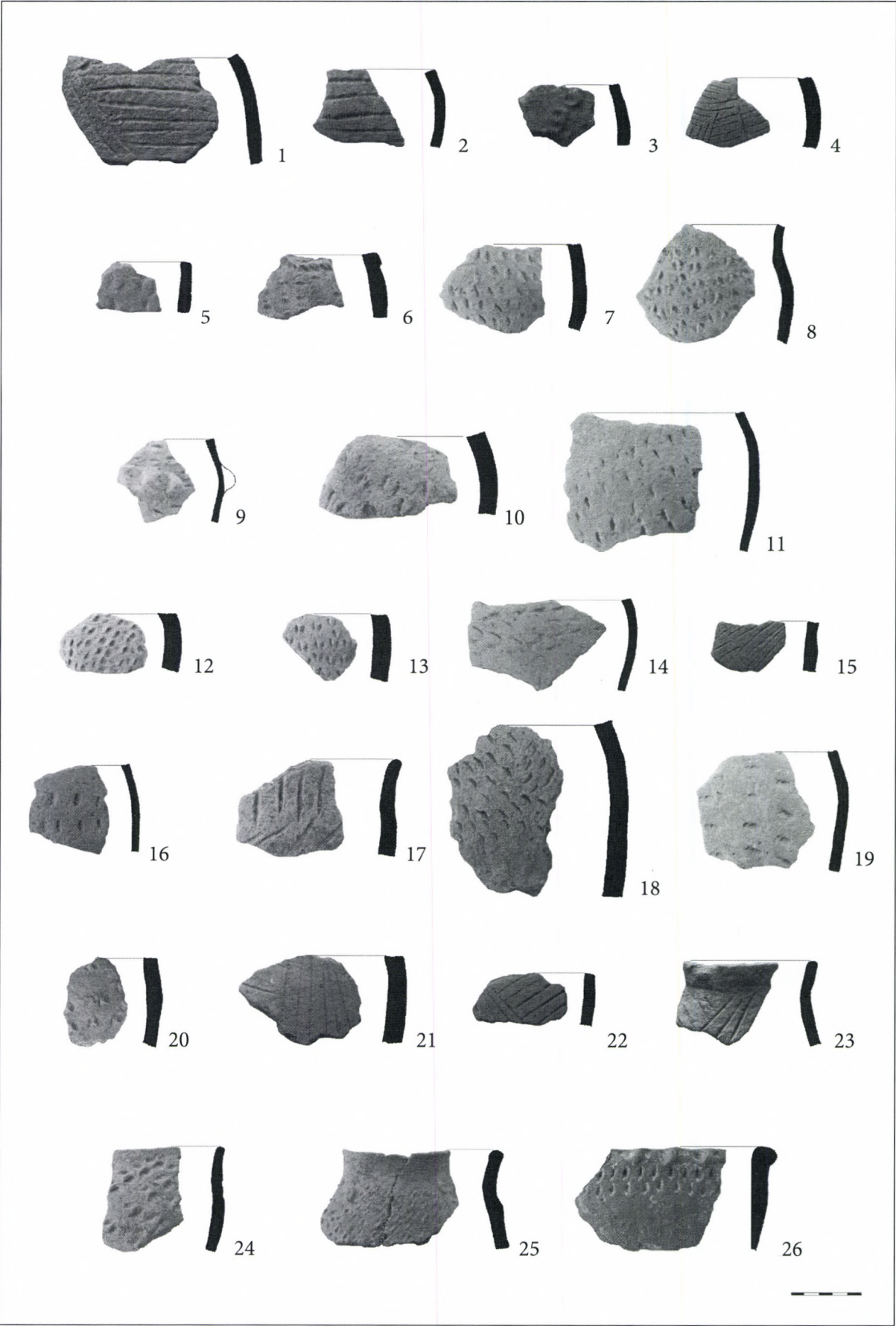


Plate V. Neolithic pottery from the excavations of Al. Bogdan.

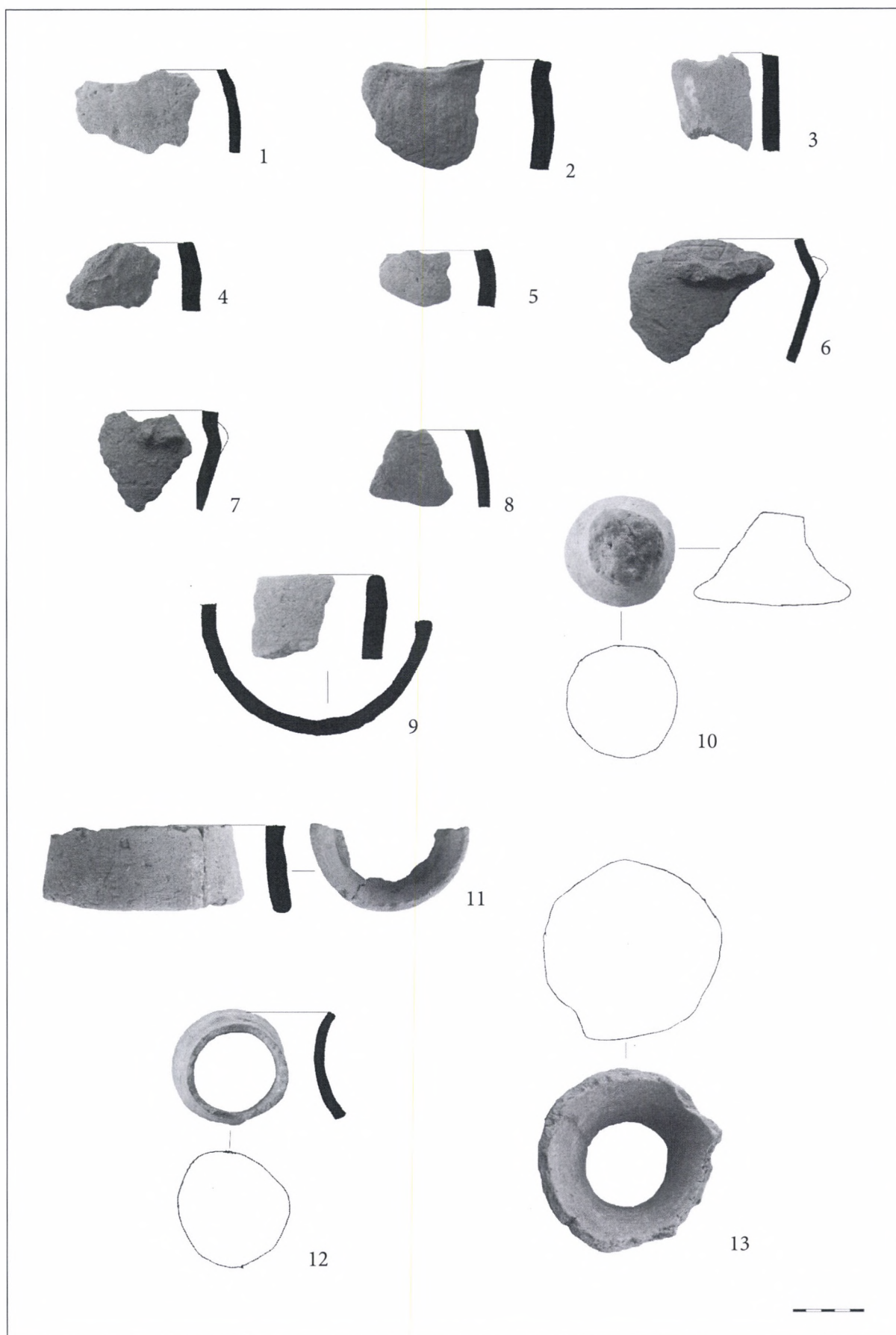


Plate VI. Neolithic pottery from the excavations of Al. Bogdan.



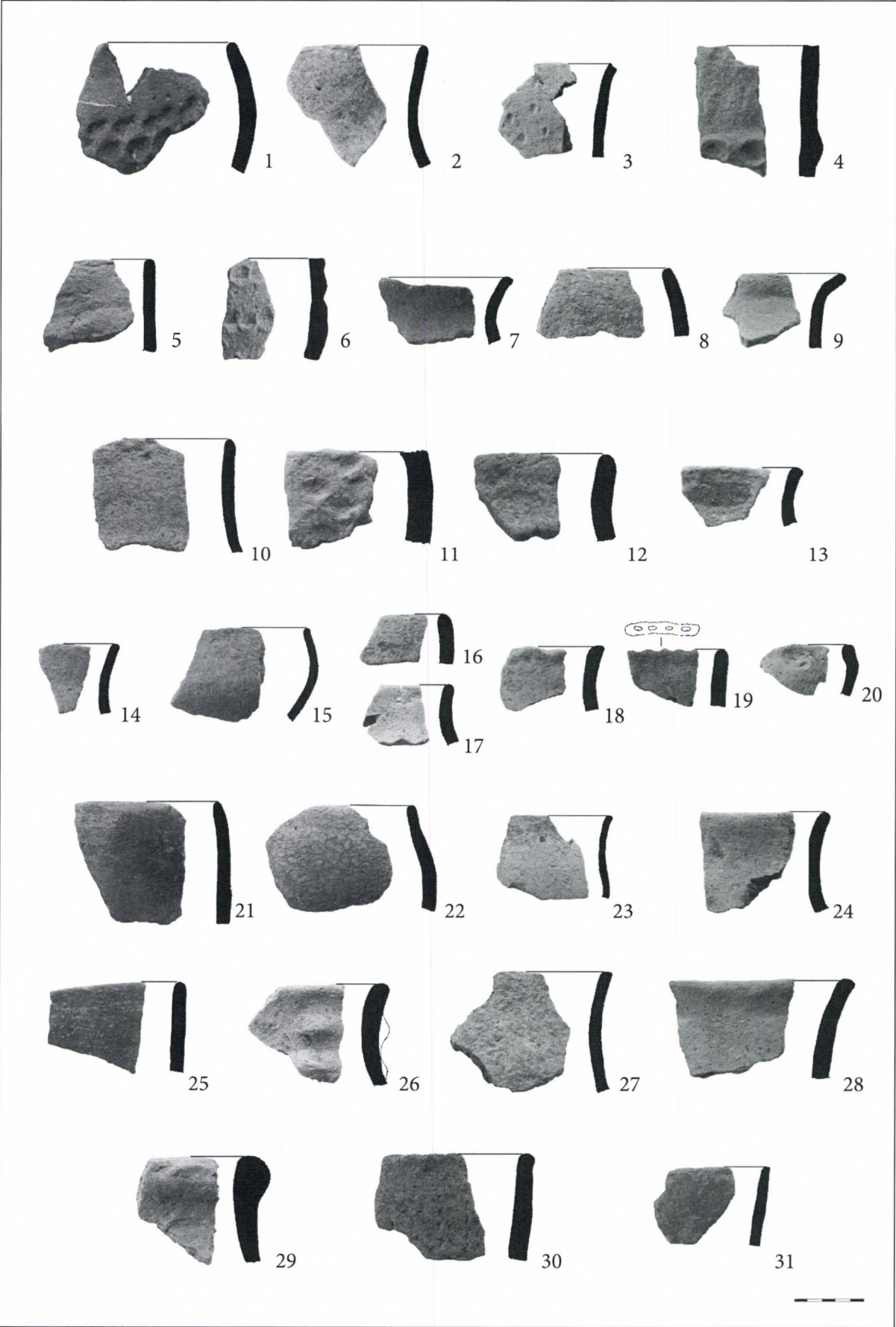


Plate VII. Neolithic pottery from the territory of the fortress (1999–2007).

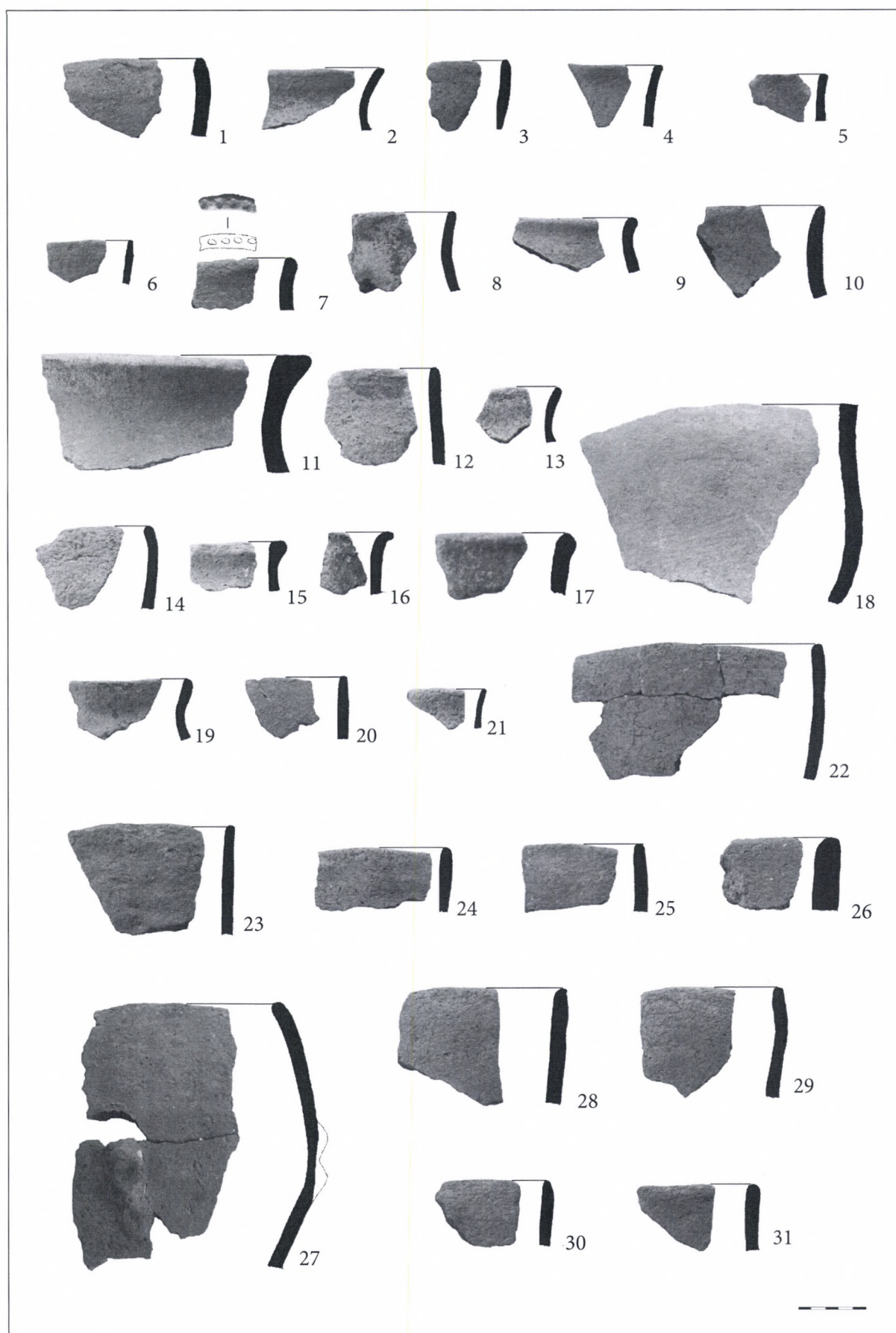


Plate VIII. Neolithic pottery from the territory of the fortress (1999–2007).



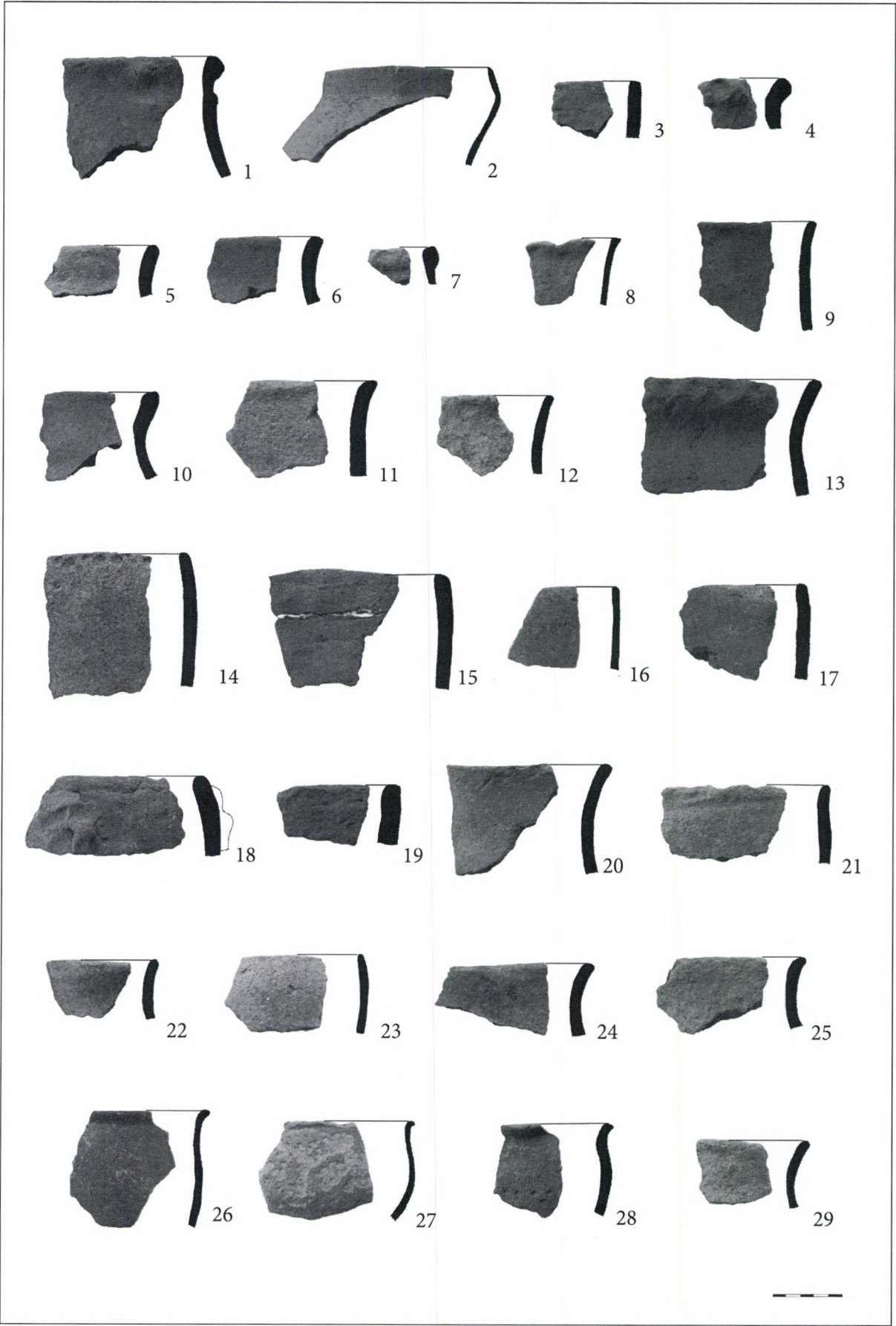


Plate IX. Neolithic pottery from the territory of the fortress (1999–2007).

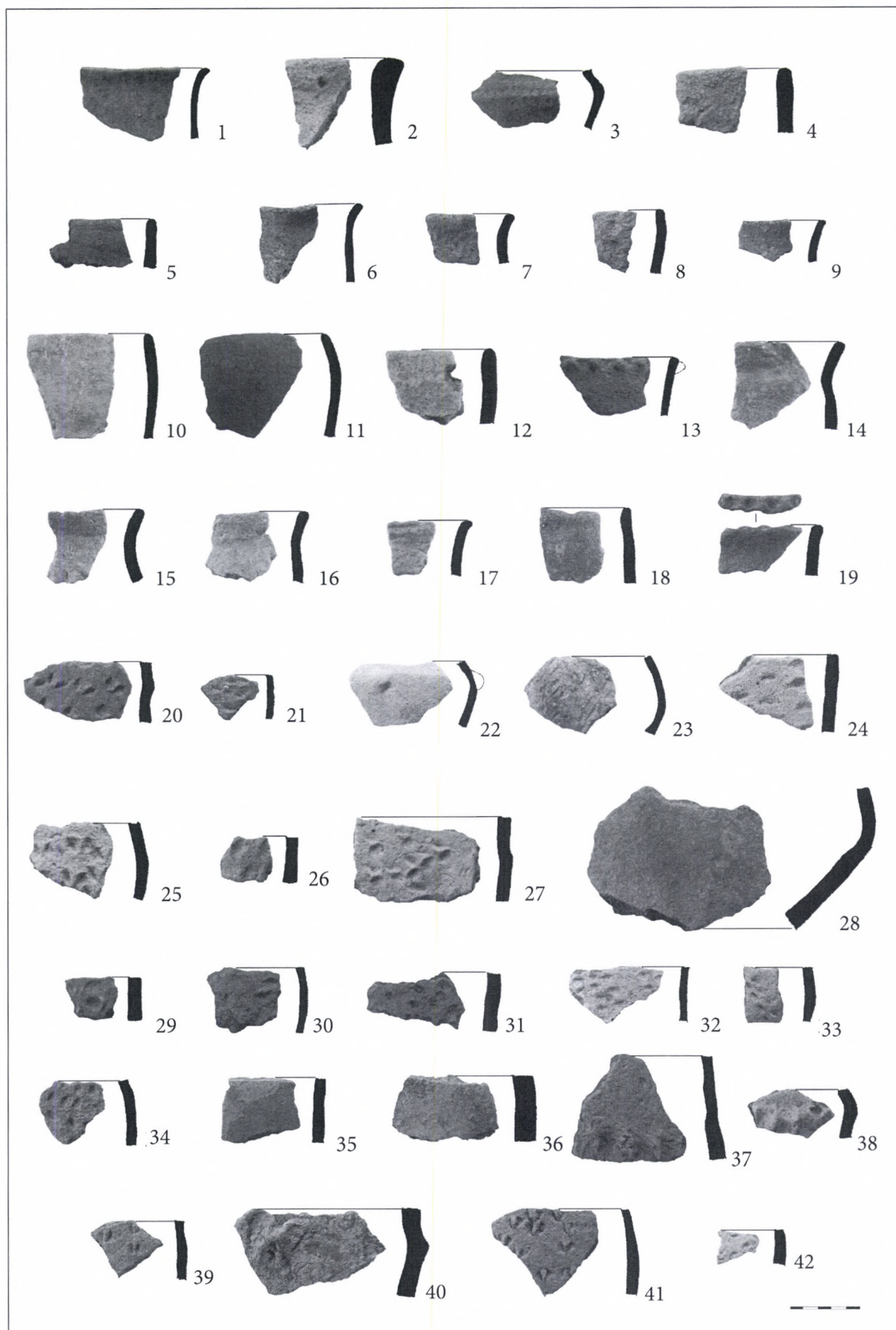


Plate X. Neolithic pottery from the territory of the fortress (1999–2007).



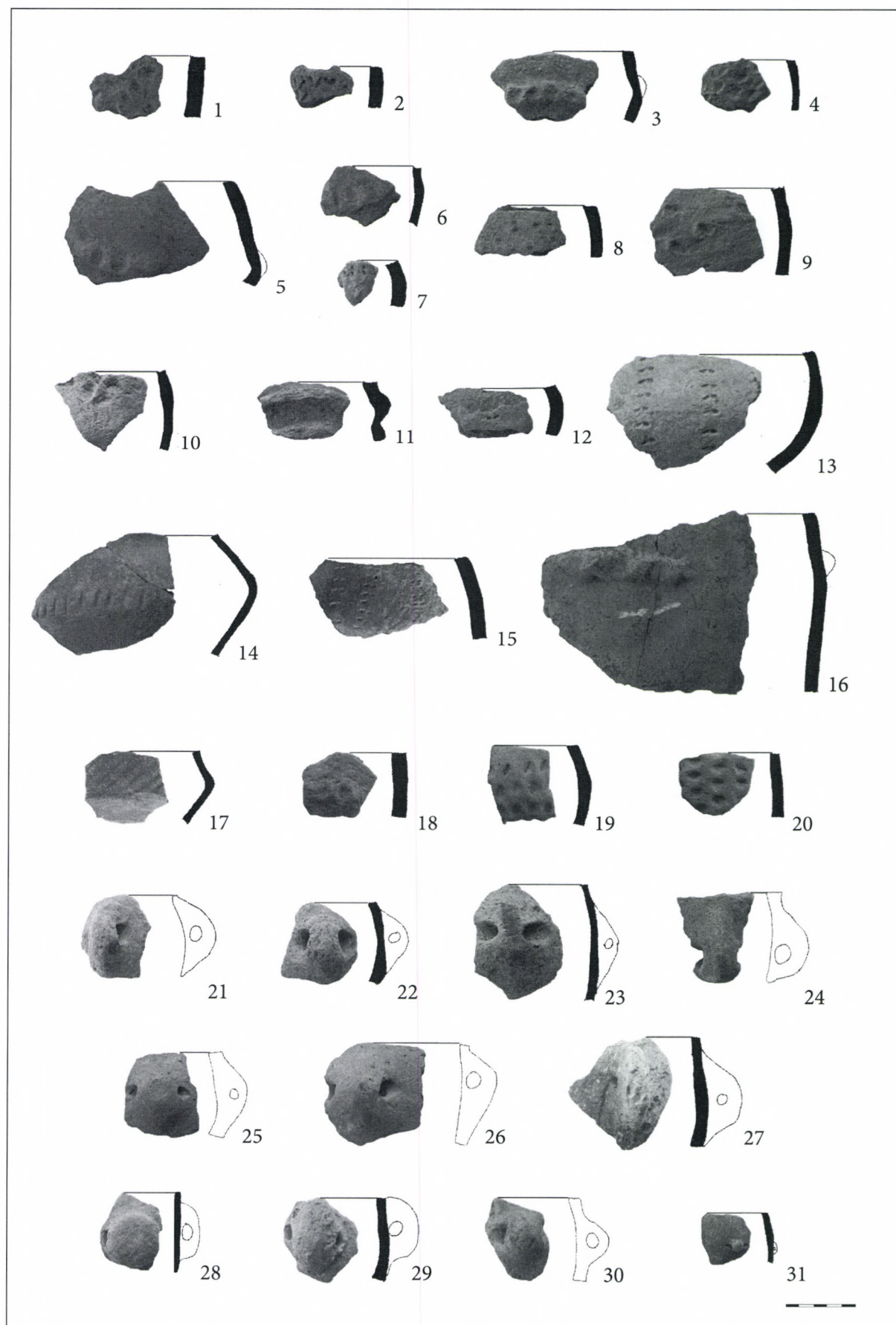


Plate XI. Neolithic pottery from the territory of the fortress (1999–2007).

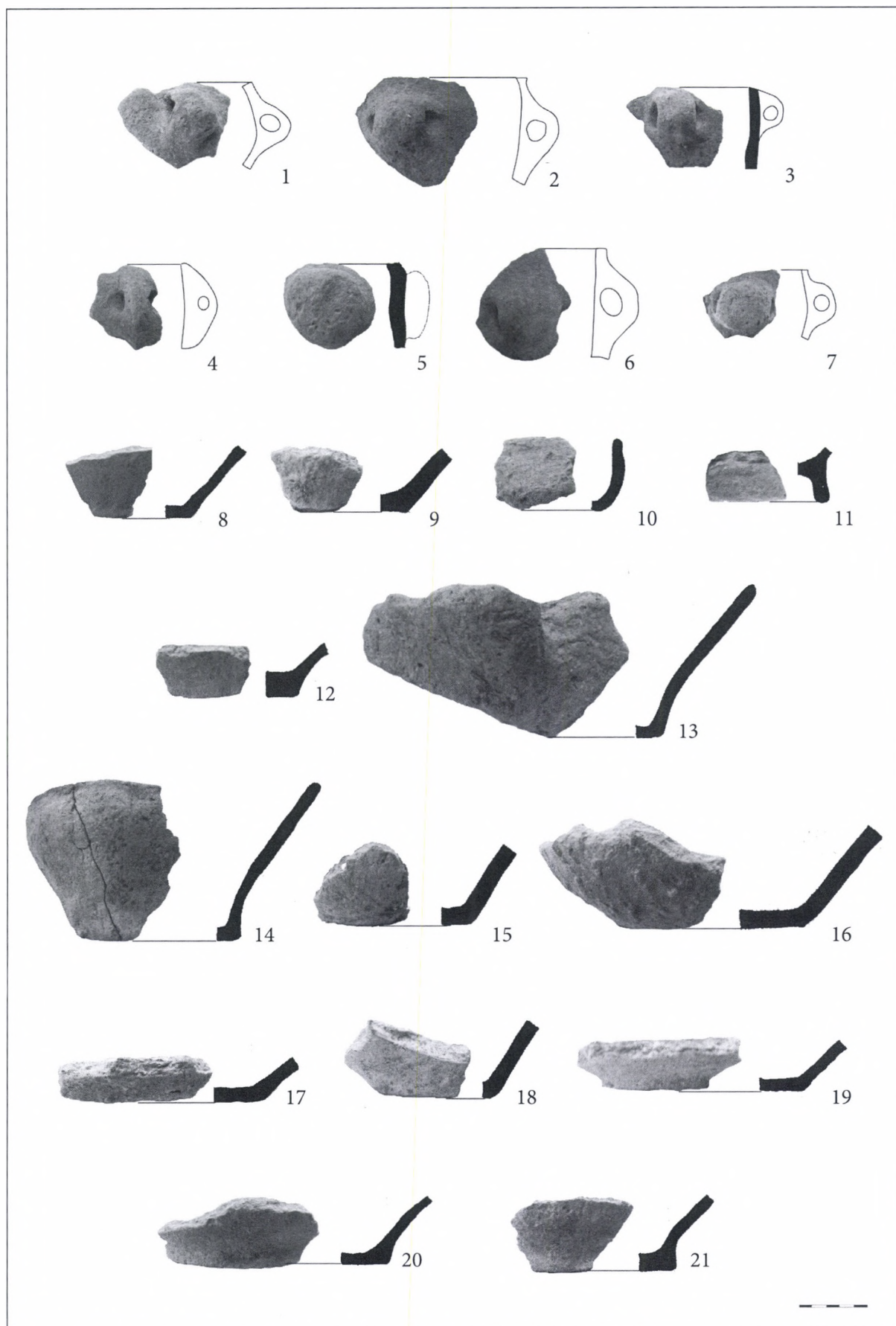


Plate XII. Neolithic pottery from the territory of the fortress (1999–2007).



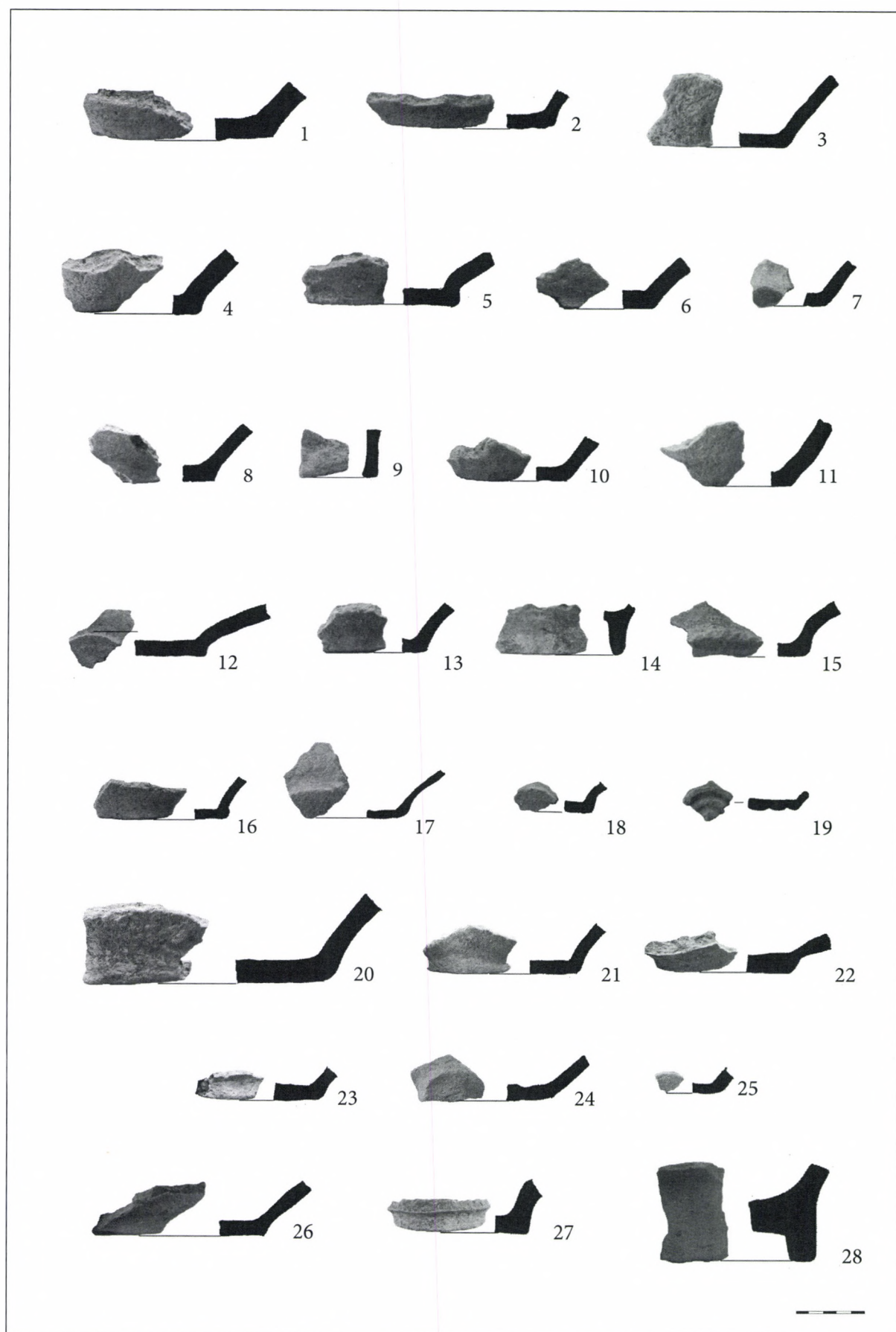


Plate XIII. Neolithic pottery from the territory of the fortress (1999–2007).

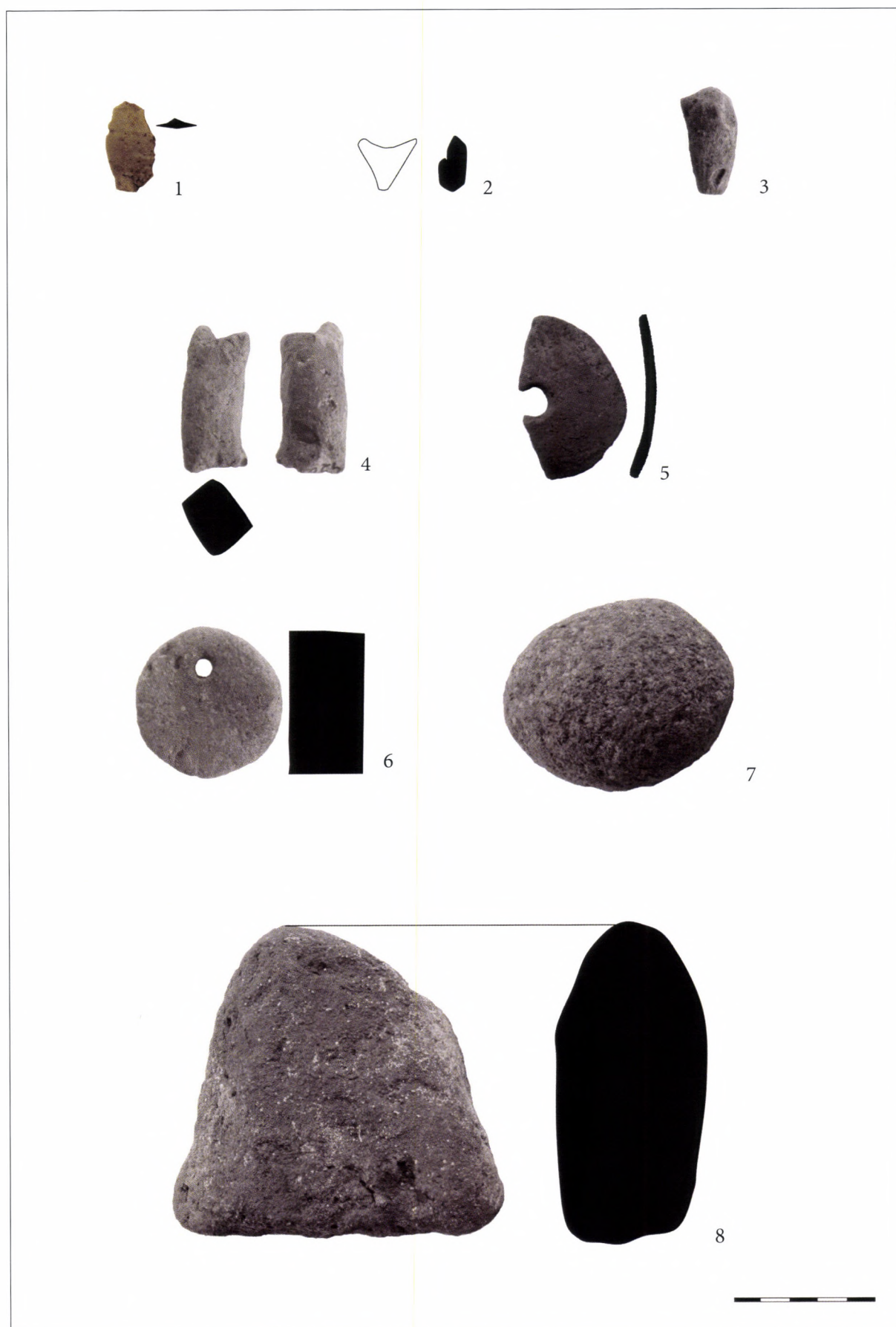


Plate XIV. Neolithic pottery from the territory of the fortress (1999–2007).





## A NEOLITHIC SETTLEMENT FROM ERNEI

Sándor BERECKI\*  
Sándor József SZTÁNCSUJ\*\*

*The rescue surveys carried out in 2015 at Ernei-Köles-kert resulted in the discovery and unearthing of a large archaeological site, inhabited over several millennia, from the Neolithic to the Migration Period. The traces of the Neolithic settlement, consisting of shallow pits and stone and pottery platforms were found in the southern part of the site, on the first terrace of Mureş River. The finds comprise mainly pottery fragments and it can be assigned entirely to the Early Neolithic Criş culture, most probably to its III<sup>rd</sup> or IV<sup>th</sup> phase.*

**Keywords:** settlement, Early Neolithic, Criş Culture, rescue excavations  
**Cuvinte cheie:** aşezare, neolitic timpuriu, cultura Criş, săpături preventive

Site 7 from Ernei-Köles-kert was investigated in 2015, on the occasion of the archaeological rescue surveys of the Târgu Mureş bypass (Corunca-Ernei). The site is located south of Ernei (Hungarian Nagyernye), on the left bank of the Mureş River, at approximately 3 km east from the present watercourse, on the first terrace of the river, respectively on the right bank of the Trebici/Terebics-Creek, a tributary of the Mureş River (Pl. I/2–3). The 335–337 m high plateau has gentle slopes towards south and good visibility on the Mureş valley. In the vast area of nearly 3 hectares archaeological remains of several ages came to light, from the Neolithic until the Migration Period. A number of 9 graves belonging to the Late Bronze Age Noua culture were discovered, as well as a Middle Bronze Age feature (Wietenberg culture), settlement remains of the Early Iron Age Gáva culture. Further sporadic finds dated from the Roman Age and a cemetery

from the Migration Period AD 5–6<sup>th</sup> century with 72 graves was also unearthed.<sup>1</sup>

Compared with the discoveries from later periods, the Neolithic finds were much poorer. The traces of the Neolithic settlement consisted especially of pottery and stone platforms and some deepened features (Pl. I/1). They were found only in the southern part of the site, on the gentle slope of the terrace from the right bank of the creek. The habitation from this part of the plateau was not intense, the archaeological features are few and dispersed (Pl. I). The pits (Cx. 6; CX. 9; Cx. 18) were round or oval, with a diameter of 0.50–0.90 m, and a depth of 0.15–0.60 m from level of the sterile, yellow clay (Pl. II/1–4). Their fill consisted of dark brown and greyish-black soil with traces of charcoal and small adobe fragments. In one of the oval pits having a diameter of approximately 1 m (Cx. 36 partially damaged by the mechanical scaling)

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<sup>1</sup> For further details see BERECKI ET AL. 2016.



animal bones were discovered grouped in the south-eastern part of the pit (Pl. II/4). On the western side the feature was slightly deeper; from this part only several stones were recovered.

One of the Neolithic pottery and stone platforms (Cx. 3) had an irregular shape of approximately  $3.70 \times 2.40$  m. From this surface together with more than 120 potsherds a fragmentary chipped flint tool was found (Pl. II/5). For the surroundings of the platform further potsherds were recovered. The feature was close to the surface and it was damaged by plough and erosion, for this reason the margins of the feature could not be clearly delimited. Another pottery agglomeration (Cx. 4) with the dimensions of  $1.90 \times 2.10$  m also had an irregular shape and it was found north-east from the earlier one (Pl. II/6).

The oval-shaped feature Cx. 25 was  $3 \times 2.30$  m. The pit with greyish-black fill was deepened 13–22 cm into the sterile layer of yellow clay and gravel (Pl. III). Outside the pit, around the feature several irregularly dispersed, approximately 0.25 m deep post-holes were observed. In the fill of the feature several potsherds, adobe and a few stones were found.

Neolithic pottery fragments were also found in secondary position in later features, like Roman period pits Cx. 1, Cx. 2 and Cx. 11 (Pl. I/1). Other fragments – sometimes in great number, like in the case of Cx. 28 – were found in the afferent stratum.

The nature of the archaeological features, their relative location, and the fact that no traces of dwellings have been discovered in original position suggests that the excavation only affected the edge of the Neolithic settlement. The investigated features are probably the traces of some household complexes. The rest of the settlement was probably lying somewhat westward, on the lower terrace of the Mureş River, but its exact location was not accurately determined because of the built-in area or the density of the plant cover. The scattered pottery found in secondary position proves that the human activity of later (especially modern) ages probably destroyed some parts of the site. The vast majority of finds recovered from the Neolithic site are generally small pottery fragments (Pl. IV–VI) and some

tiny pieces of wattle and daub. A single fragment of a flint blade came to light from Cx. 3. The pottery can be assigned entirely to the Early Neolithic Criş culture.

In general, most part of the material is rather poor. The fragmentation of the pottery is very high and there are no intact or reconstructed vessels, therefore it is difficult to accurately determine the shapes of the vessels. The ratio of the decorated and unornamented pottery is 6.15 % vs. 93.85 %. In terms of the technical characteristics of the pottery, it is generally of medium quality. The hand-formed vessels were predominantly manufactured from well-washed clay, tempered with chaff and, in much less frequent cases, with sand or waster. Pit kiln firing on low- or medium level resulted usually in light red, maroon or light brown vessels with dark (grey or black) cores. The most common pottery forms are the globular vessels with wide shoulders, short cylindrical neck, outcurving rim (Pl. IV/5; VI/1, 2) and large, barrel shaped pots with slightly inverted rim (Pl. IV/9; VI/6, 7). Several thickened bases belong also to these types of vessels (Pl. IV/8; V/8). Storage jars of different forms are represented by several large, thick walled pottery fragments (Pl. IV/2, 3; V/7; VI/9). Other typical forms are conical (Pl. V/9) or biconical (Pl. IV/1) bowls, although they occur rarely. The carinated vessel with slightly profiled rim from Cx. 2 (Pl. IV/1) is a typical form for the Criş culture.

The pottery from the site is also poorly decorated, ornaments consist especially of simple, oval-shaped knobs (Pl. IV/5), barbotine-like, finger-impressed knobs (Pl. V/2, 5), double knobs (Pl. IV/6), finger-impressed ribs (Pl. V/9), nail impressions (Pl. VI/4, 5), finger impressions (Pl. V/1; IV/5), or pinched decoration (Pl. V/3, 9; VI/9). Sometimes the applied ornaments are combined with impressed decoration. A globular vessel is decorated with finger impressions on the upper side of the rim and an oval-shaped knob on the neck (Pl. IV/5) while a conical bowl is ornamented with pinched motifs and a finger-impressed rib (Pl. V/9). Applied barbotine is also present in a small proportion (Pl. V/7; VI/8). No traces of painted ceramics could be documented from this site.



Most of the vessels described above, as well as their decorative procedures and motifs are common forms in the contemporary settlements of the Starčevo–Criș–Körös cultural complex, in the territory of the Carpathian Basin and its neighbouring regions as well. As analogies we can mention the globular vessels and storage pots discovered in the Körös-sites in Eastern Hungary: Ecsefalva–Site 23,<sup>2</sup> Endrőd–Site 3/119,<sup>3</sup> Hódmezővásárhely–Kotacpart–Vatatanya,<sup>4</sup> Szarvas–Site 8/23,<sup>5</sup> etc. and Western Romania at Dudeștii Vechi.<sup>6</sup> Similar Criș settlements can be mentioned in Transylvania from Gura Baciului,<sup>7</sup> Leț–Várhegy,<sup>8</sup> Morești–Podei,<sup>9</sup> Ocna Sibiului–Triguri,<sup>10</sup> Orăștie–Dealul Pemilor,<sup>11</sup> Șeușa–La Cărarea Morii,<sup>12</sup> Turia–Silók,<sup>13</sup> in Banat at Cuina Turcului III<sup>14</sup> or in Moldova at Trestiana,<sup>15</sup> Valea Lupului,<sup>16</sup> etc. Their spreading usually is not related to a certain chronological or evolution phase. Conical bowls are also characteristic forms in all stages of the culture (see for example Ecsefalva–Site 23,<sup>17</sup> Hódmezővásárhely–Kotacpart–Vatatanya,<sup>18</sup> Morești–Podei,<sup>19</sup> Ocna Sibiului–Triguri,<sup>20</sup>

Ostrovu Golu II–III.<sup>21</sup> Due to their general spread, these forms do not have a more accurate dating value. Byconical and carinated vessels are an exception, since they are more typical for the younger stages.<sup>22</sup> The biconical bowl with slightly profiled rim (Pl. IV/1) has analogies especially in settlements like Leț–Várhegy,<sup>23</sup> Orăștie–Dealul Pemilor,<sup>24</sup> Trestiana,<sup>25</sup> etc. assigned to stages III–IV of the Starčevo–Criș culture from the Eastern Carpathian region.

Finally, a special find, a fragment of a so-called altar or clay lamp can be mentioned. The fragment has a shallow bowl shaped upper part and remains of two cylindrical, truncated feet. The vessel was modelled briefly from thick paste tempered with sand and waster. This artefact is also a leading form, with several variants, in the Starčevo–Criș–Körös complex,<sup>26</sup> although larger versions similar to the variant from Ernei are not too common. Parallels can be mentioned from Endrőd–Site 3/39<sup>27</sup> or Imeni.<sup>28</sup>

According to the most widespread chronology of Gh. Lazarovici<sup>29</sup> which is based on

<sup>2</sup> OROSS 2007, fig. 27.2; 21; 23.

<sup>3</sup> MAKKAY–STARNINI 2008, fig. 311–314.

<sup>4</sup> KUTZIÁN 1944, pl. XXI/3–5; XXII/2, 3; XXIX/6, 7.

<sup>5</sup> MAKKAY–STARNINI 2001, fig. 46; 61; 67/1; 69/1.

<sup>6</sup> KUTZIÁN 1944, pl. XXI/1, 2.

<sup>7</sup> CIUTĂ 2005, pl. LX/1–4.

<sup>8</sup> ZAHARIA 1962, fig. 14/19, 20; 15/6–8.

<sup>9</sup> LAZĂR 1995, pl. XLVIII/2, 9, 12, 13.

<sup>10</sup> CIUTĂ 2005, pl. XXXII/7; XXXIII/1; XXXVII/1–5.

<sup>11</sup> LUCA–PINTER 2001, Taf. 3/5–7; 5/3, 6/1, 2.

<sup>12</sup> CIUTĂ 2005, pl. LXXV/5–12.

<sup>13</sup> CIUTĂ 1997, pl. XI.

<sup>14</sup> LAZAROVICI 1979, pl. VII/B-5.

<sup>15</sup> POPUȘOI 2005, fig. 83–84; 96, 98, 108–111, 115.

<sup>16</sup> MARINESCU-BÎLCU 1993, pl. 3/5.

<sup>17</sup> OROSS 2007, fig. 27.12/1, 3.

<sup>18</sup> KUTZIÁN 1944, pl. XXI/4.

<sup>19</sup> LAZĂR 1995, pl. XLVIII/3, 6.

<sup>20</sup> CIUTĂ 2005, pl. XXXIV/2, 3.

<sup>21</sup> LAZAROVICI 1979, pl. VII/A-2–4, 10–15; VIII/A-1, 2, 5, 8–10.

<sup>22</sup> LAZAROVICI 1993, 245.

<sup>23</sup> ZAHARIA 1962, fig. 5/15; 6/8–14.

<sup>24</sup> LUCA–PINTER 2001, Taf. 4/6.

<sup>25</sup> POPUȘOI 2005, fig. 59/1–3, 5; 68/2; 98a/3, 8; 98b/1–5.

<sup>26</sup> OROSS 2007, 509.

<sup>27</sup> MAKKAY–STARNINI 2008, fig. 89/1; 90/1.

<sup>28</sup> Unpublished find in the collection of the Székely National Museum.

<sup>29</sup> LAZAROVICI 1969; 1977; 1979.



VI. Milojević's system,<sup>30</sup> the development of the Starčevo-Criș culture in Romania is divided into four phases, each of them having further sub-phases.<sup>31</sup> While the initial stages (Starčevo-Criș I and II) are present mainly in the western part of Romania (especially in Banat, Oltenia and Western-Transylvania), starting with the III<sup>rd</sup> stage the culture expanded to the Eastern Carpathian region as well. This expansion is linked to the appearance of the early Vinča culture, the effect of which can be demonstrated also on the archaeological heritage of the Starčevo-Criș communities.<sup>32</sup> Late Starčevo-Criș settlements, dated to phases III and IV, appeared along the upper course of Mureș and Olt rivers (Eastern and North-Eastern Transylvania) as well as in Moldova, on the outer side of Eastern Carpathians.<sup>33</sup> In terms of the absolute chronology, sub-phase IIIB is set between 5800–5500 BC, while the entire length of the late IV phase is estimated to cca. 5500–5100 BC.<sup>34</sup> Most likely the small settlement of Ernei-Köles-kert could be established during these latter stages of development. Because of the small amount and often sporadic

nature of the material, as well as the lack of more precise dating the site cannot be accurately dated. Probably this settlement dates from the end of the III<sup>rd</sup> phase or the beginning of the IV<sup>th</sup> phase of the Criș culture. This dating is suggested by the biconical and carinated forms, the frequency of nail impressed and pinched decoration and the presence of sand in the clay used as tempering material. In the narrower geographic area most of the known settlements date from the same period.

From the Upper Mureș region several – unfortunately usually only broadly investigated and published – Criș sites contemporaneous with the Ernei-Köles-kert settlement are known, like the ones from Batoș-Gledinel,<sup>35</sup> Cipău-Dâlma,<sup>36</sup> Iernut-Bideșcutul Mare,<sup>37</sup> Morești-Podei<sup>38</sup> or Târgu Mureș-Fortress.<sup>39</sup> According to the available data, these sites date from the late phases of the Criș culture. Thus, despite the low number and poor character of the finds, the Early Neolithic site from Ernei-Köles-kert brings new relevant data regarding both the geomorphology and the character of the settlements from this period on the upper course of the Mureș River.

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<sup>34</sup> LUCA ET AL. 2011, 13–15.

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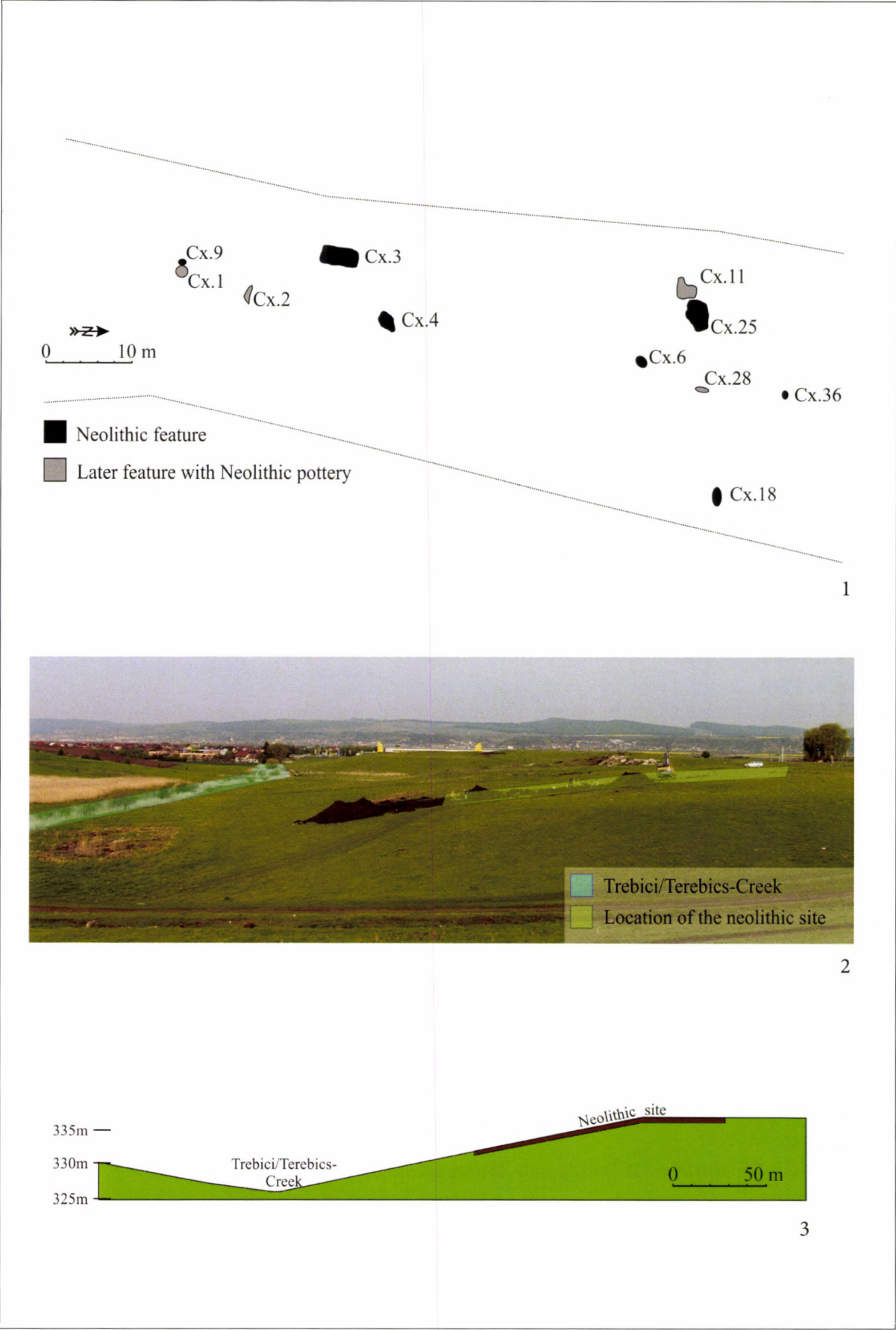


Plate I. Ernei-Köles-kert. 1. Features with Neolithic finds; 2. View of the site from East; 3. SW-NE section of the Trebici/Terebics-Creeck's valley.

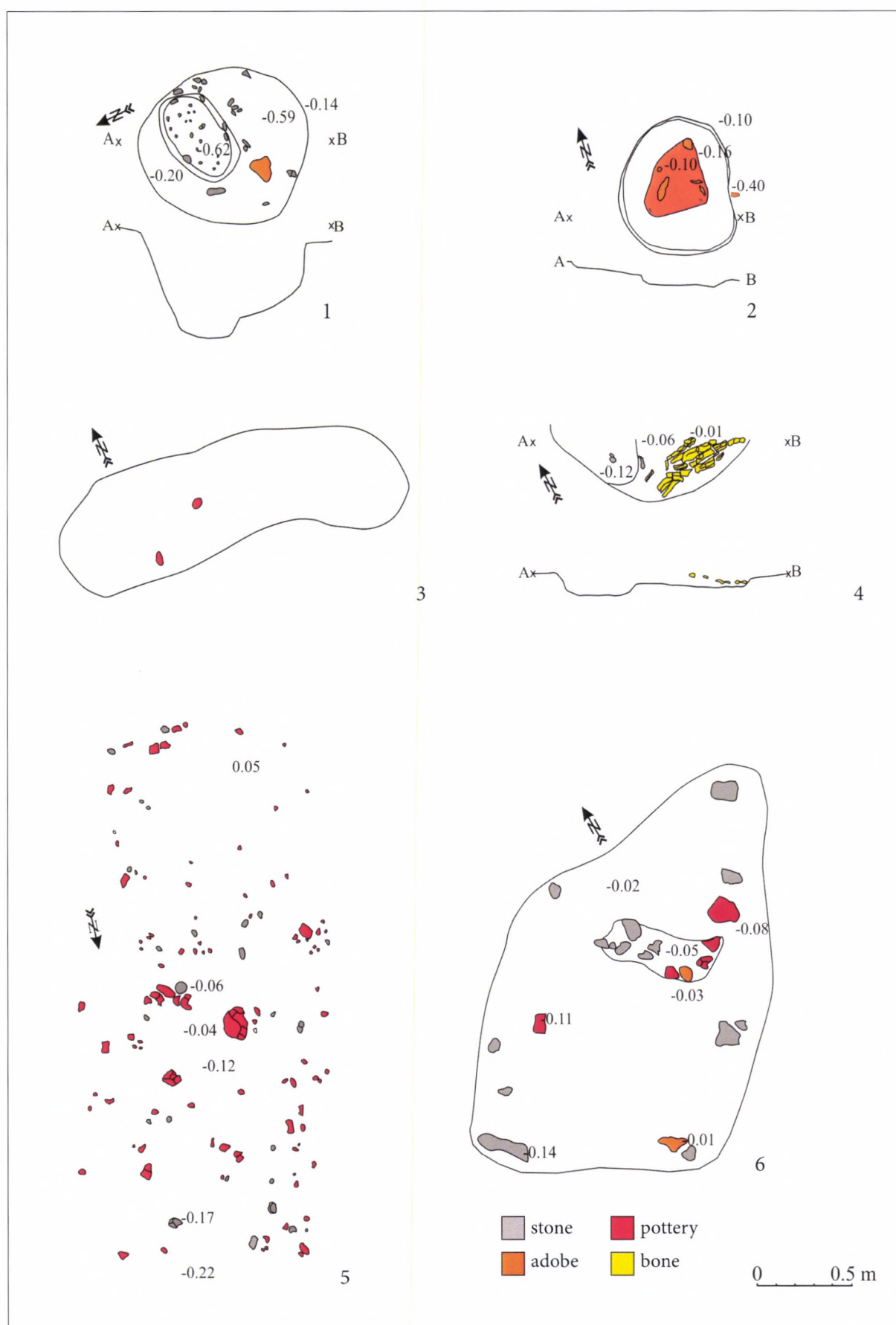


Plate II. Ernei-Köles-kert. Features with Neolithic finds: pits (1: Cx. 6; 2: Cx. 9; 3: Cx. 18; 4: Cx. 36) and platforms (5: Cx. 3; 6: Cx. 4).





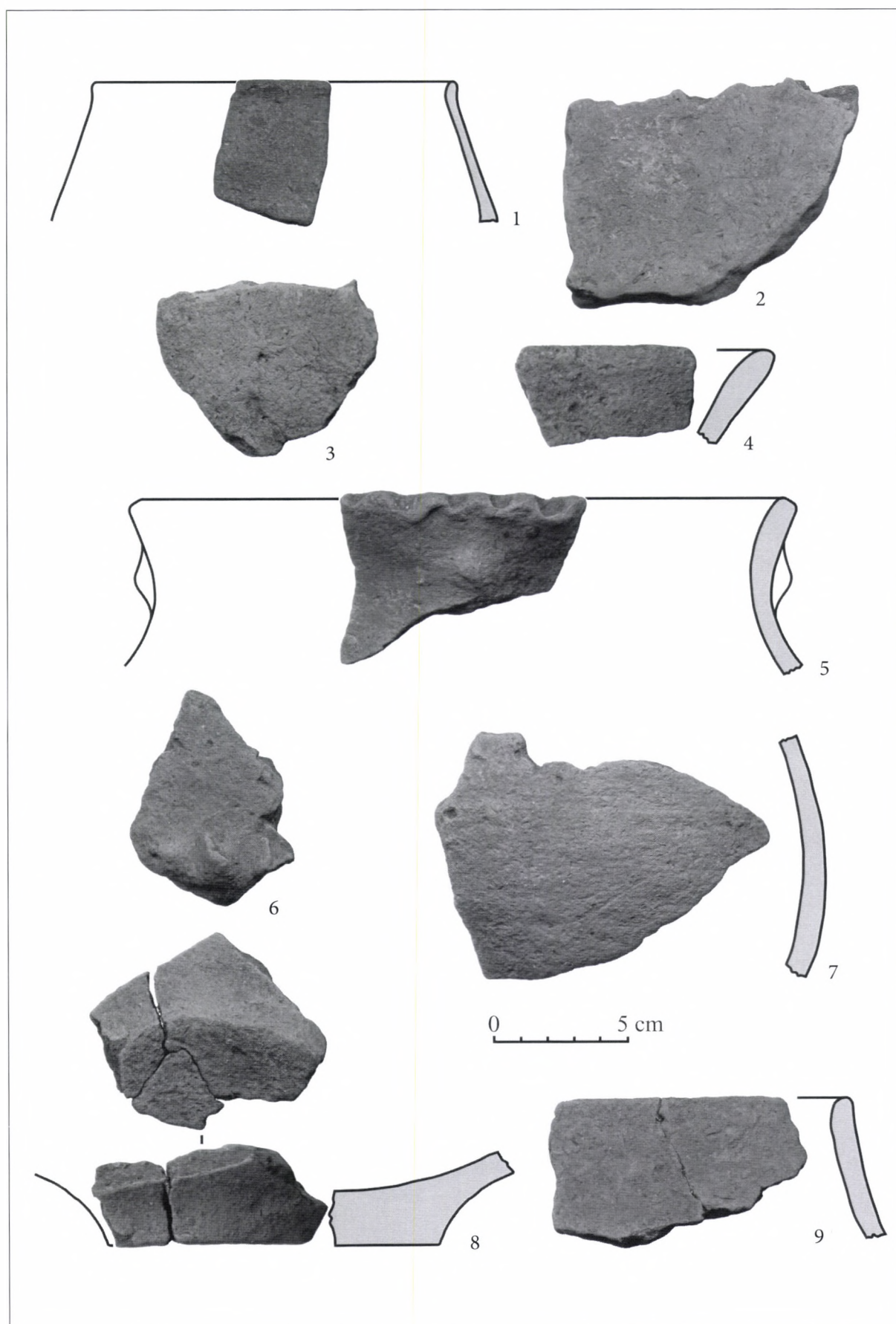


Plate IV. Ernei-Köles-kert. Neolithic pottery from features Cx. 2 (1, 2) and Cx. 3 (3-9).



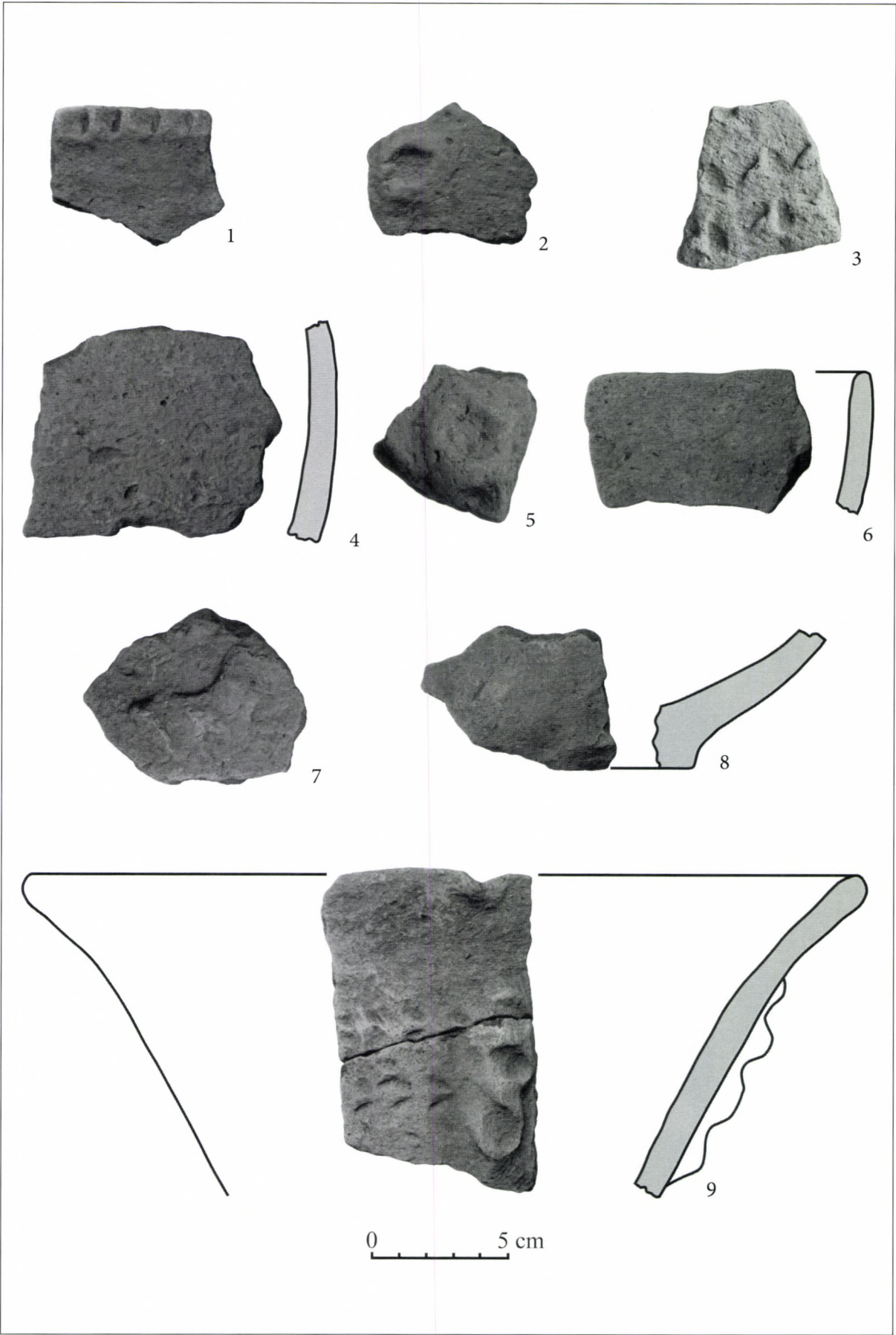


Plate V. Ernei-Köles-kert. Neolithic pottery from features Cx. 3 (1-3) and Cx. 4 (4-9).

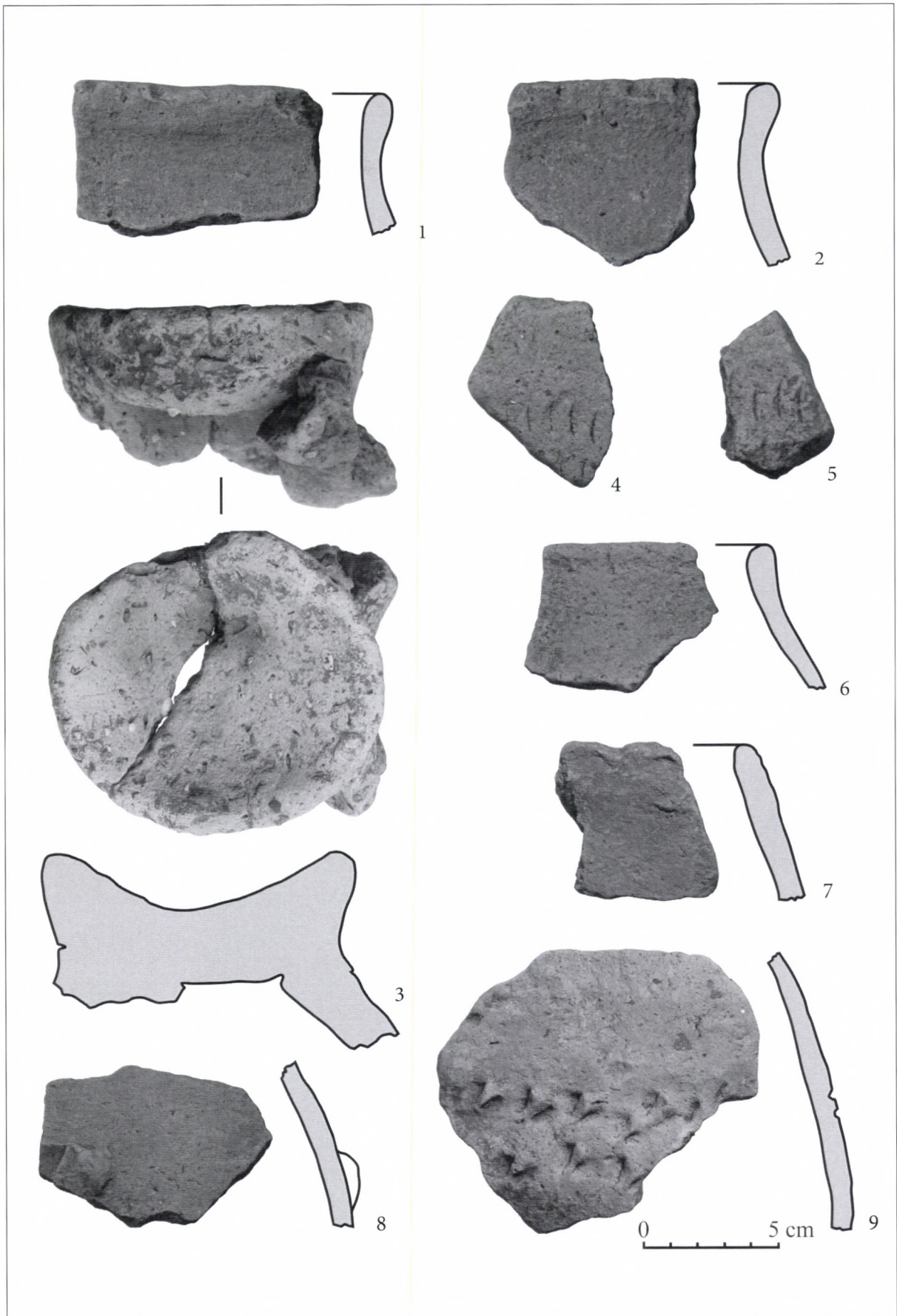


Plate VI. Ernei-Köles-kert. Neolithic pottery from features Cx. 4 (1, 2), Cx. 6 (3), Cx. 28 (4, 5) and stray finds from the site (6-9).





## A LATE IRON AGE BELT BUCKLE FROM ARDEU\*

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Cristian Constantin ROMAN\*\*\*

*In the memory of Marius Râza*

*Starting in 2001, the excavation systematically organized by the Museum from Deva on the Ardeu village, Hunedoara county, continue till today. A lot of items were unearthed and also buildings structures. The Late Iron Age site Ardeu-Cetățuie from the vicinity of the core region of the Dacian Kingdom was identified in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (1885) by Téglás Gábor – the first director of the Museum from Deva. The systematic research of the site has been initiated by the Museum of Dacian and Roman Civilisation from Deva in 2001.*

*In 2017, on the eastern slope of the Cetățuie Hill the natural erosion brought to light an iron belt buckle. The piece is a part of a sword belt set dated to the LT C2–D1 period; it was made of metal components combined with organic materials (mostly leather). Their presence at Ardeu documents the long distance mobility of artefacts during this period of the Iron Age.*

**Keywords:** iron belt buckle, Ardeu, Late Iron Age, Dacians, connectivity

**Cuvinte cheie:** cataramă de fier, Ardeu, a doua epocă a fierului, daci, contacte

The Dacian fortress from Ardeu has been systematically researched and constantly presented in the archaeological literature of the last decade.<sup>1</sup> The archaeological site Ardeu-Cetățuie (Fig. 1) is located on the territory of Ardeu village, Balșa commune, Hunedoara County and it comprises the hill with the same name (455 m asl), the plateau situated to the east, the foothills, the terraces positioned towards south and the Ardeu Gorges from the south-western part (Fig. 1–2). The hill with steep slopes is surrounded by the Ardeu Creek, which forms on the northern and western sides a sector of short, picturesque

gorges. The site was inhabited in other historical periods too;<sup>2</sup> but only discoveries from the Dacian period had been published so far.

The archaeological research of the site started at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century led by Téglás Gábor.<sup>3</sup> During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, because of the stone quarry opened on the territory of the site (Fig. 1) the Museum from Deva and the National History Museum of Romania from Bucharest undertook a small scale excavation in the area, which led to the identification of several metal artefacts.<sup>4</sup> The systematic research of the site has been initiated by the Museum of Dacian and

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<sup>1</sup> See FERENCZ 2014 (with further bibliography).

<sup>2</sup> FERENCZ–ROMAN 2010, 173; FERENCZ ET AL. 2016a, 265–266, fig. 2.

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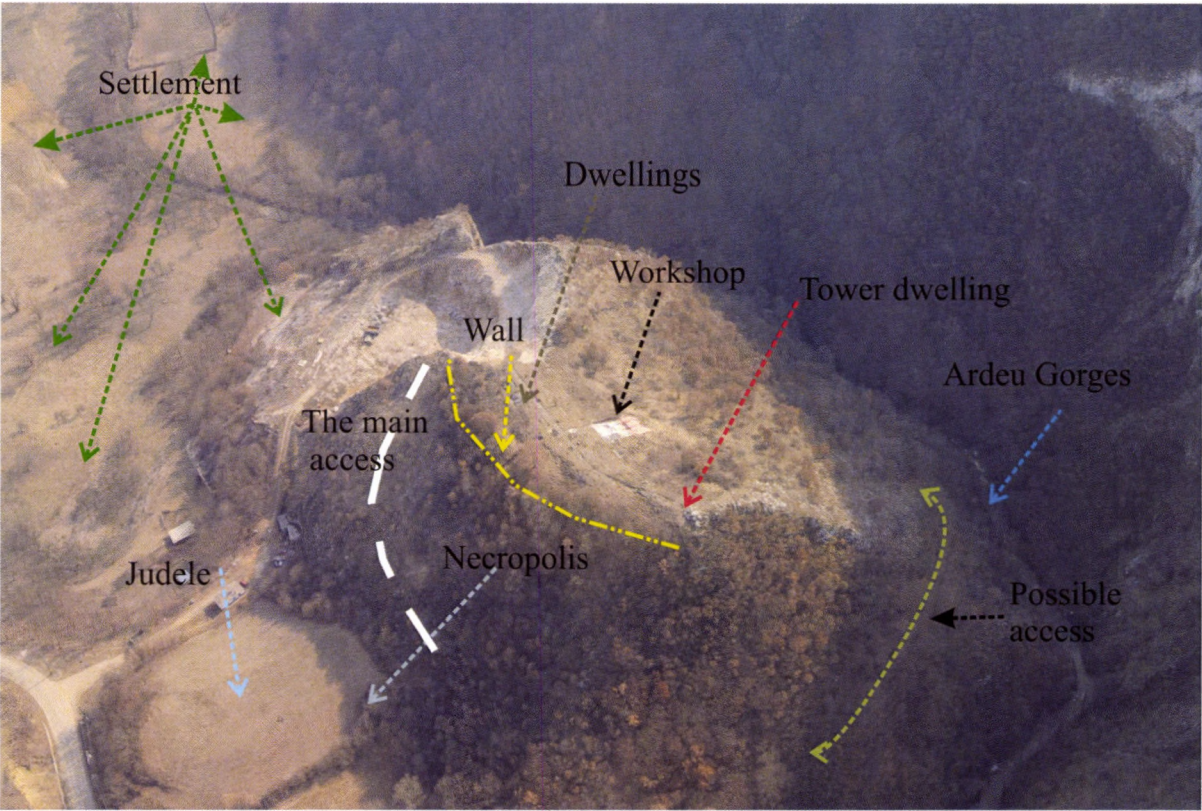


Fig. 1. Aerial view of the Cetățuie hill with the main components of the site  
(Photo by Z. Czajlik, after FERENCZ ET AL. 2016b).



Fig. 2. The eastern slope of the Cetățuie Hill. The 'X' marks the place of the discovery  
(photo: M. Barbu 09.03.1018).



Roman Civilisation from Deva in 2001. During the two decades of research further institutions joined the project: the '1 Decembrie 1918' University (Alba Iulia), the National History Museum of Transylvania (Cluj-Napoca), and the Corvin Castle Museum from Hunedoara.<sup>5</sup>

During the 2017 field surveys, on the eastern slope of the Cetățuie Hill (Fig. 2) C. Roman incidentally found an iron object (Fig. 3). The belt buckle was observed on the old path used before 2014 by the research team to reach the top of the hill. In earlier years, other artefacts were also found along the path from the eastern slope.

Almost two decades ago, based on the shape and components of the numerous buckles discovered in four deposits of objects in the Gallic and Gallo-Roman sanctuary at Villeneuve-au-Chatelot (Aube), Gérard Bataille made a representative typological analysis.<sup>6</sup> The artefact discovered at Ardeu could be interpreted starting from this typology.<sup>7</sup> The belt buckle was made of an iron bar. The extremity providing the connection with the part made of organic belt material has a triangular shape. It continues in an intermediate part, a 'tongue' made by joining the ends of the iron rod from which the piece was made. The foot is short, and it was made by bending the end of the intermediate part. The termination of the piece is shaped like a spherical button. The piece has been worked by hot hammering until the bar ends were joined, even if the boundary between the two is visible (Pl. I). It is hard to say if this detail is due to the negligence, clumsiness or of the routine of the craftsman who made the object. Although not yet restored, the artefact is well preserved (Museum of Dacian and Roman Civilization in Deva inv. no. 53622).

These type of buckles are components of organic belts, complemented by a garment made of metal fittings (iron and bronze) comprising a buckle and several rings. They are found often in men's graves, and in many cases ensure the

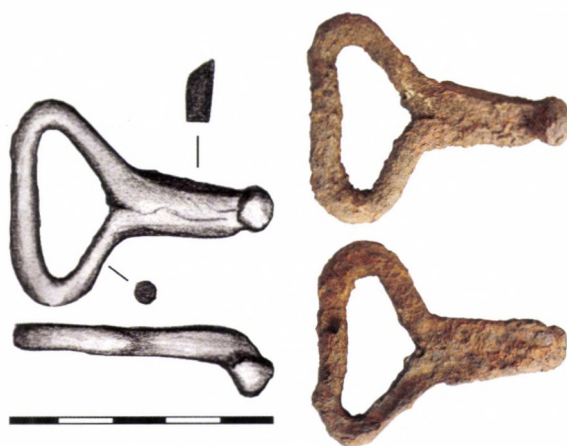


Fig. 3. The iron belt buckle from Ardeu (drawing: S. Ivan; photo: I. V. Ferencz).

fastening of the belts that support the swords. However, there have also been cases in which the inventory of some graves is missing the scabbard or others in which, although the sword is present, the components of the belt are missing. That is why it can be assumed that such buckles could be also components of belts worn by other people than warriors, and sometimes the swords were hung by belts without metallic elements.<sup>8</sup>

Beginning with the end of the third century BC, and in the second century BC leather belts with iron or bronze rings and buckles begin to replace sword chains made entirely of metal elements.<sup>9</sup> Their form evolved until the Augustian period, or more precisely until the beginning of the first century AD.<sup>10</sup> According to the Bataille typology the belt buckle from Ardeu can be included in type 2B, which is characterized by V-shaped intermediate part and were dated beginning with the second half of the first century BC.<sup>11</sup> Since the belt from Ardeu was discovered incidentally, it can be linked only with reserves to the first horizon of the fortress. It is also hard to determine if it was the buckle of a sword chain or of another type of belt.

<sup>5</sup> PESCARU ET AL. 2002; FERENCZ ET AL. 2003; 2004; 2005; 2010; 2011; 2014; 2015; 2016c; 2017; BELDIMAN-SZTANCS 2014.

<sup>6</sup> BATAILLE 2001.

<sup>7</sup> BATAILLE 2001, 443–444, fig. 2.

<sup>8</sup> DIZDAR 2013, 177.

<sup>9</sup> RAPIN 1987; LEJARS 1994, 49; DIZDAR 2013, 177.

<sup>10</sup> BATAILLE 2001, 446–455; fig. 4.

<sup>11</sup> BATAILLE 2001, 448, fig. 3–4.



In the eastern Carpathian Basin from the end of the Late Iron Age only a couple of belt buckles are known. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, two typologically different belt buckles were discovered at Sighișoara–*Wietenberg*,<sup>12</sup> yet, these Bataille 1A2 type and 4D type belt buckles date from an earlier period than the one found at Ardeu.

Even if weapons and pieces of military equipment in the Late Iron Age are characterized by homogeneity on large areas,<sup>13</sup> the presence at Ardeu of this type of clothing accessory, with its core region in central and western Europe, indi-

cates the connectivity of the military elite from this region with the western neighbours, and the mobility of individuals, artefacts or technology in the period. These connections are also illustrated by further artefacts found at Ardeu<sup>14</sup> which are specific for the central European areas. The two belt buckles from Sighișoara indicate that these type of belts reached the Carpathian Basin soon after they appeared in the western area, while the piece dated to the end of the first century AD from Ardeu shows the persistence of the contacts between these regions.

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# NEWS ON THE DISCOVERY OF THE RUINS FROM GRĂDIȘTEA MUNCELULUI IN THE INTERNATIONAL AND LOCAL PRESS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

Aurora PEȚAN\*

*The natives' discovery of several coin hoards in the neighbourhood of the ruins from Grădiștea Muncelului (Hunedoara County), at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, determined the Habsburg authorities to make investigations among the villagers and to forbid treasure hunts on the state lands. On this occasion, they discovered the impressive ruins of the Dacian fortress on the Grădiștea Hill, later on identified as Sarmizegetusa Regia, and huge official excavation campaigns were initiated aiming both at finding gold and for scientific reasons. The news related to the discovery of the ancient city up in the mountains and of the treasures, spread all over the world, the local and the international press reporting at large or briefly on this topic. The article herein is meant to analyse the information from the press of the time and the way in which it was spread.*

**Keywords:** historiography, Dacian Kingdom, coin hoards, Sarmizegetusa Regia, Grădiștea Muncelului, the press of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

**Cuvinte cheie:** istoriografie, Regatul Dac, tezaure monetare, Sarmizegetusa Regia, Grădiștea Muncelului, presa secolului al XIX-lea

## PREMISES

On the passage from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a series of information spread out, related to the existence of some treasures around the ruins from Grădiștea Muncelului (today Grădiștea de Munte, Hunedoara County), where in antiquity laid the fortress of Sarmizegetusa Regia, capital of the Dacian Kingdom. The natives from the nearby villages but also those from the newly founded colony of workers in the vicinity of the ruins rushed to the area, in search for gold.<sup>1</sup>

The authorities found out about the discovery of a treasure consisting in Lysimachos-type gold coins in the area around Ceata hill (The Anineș valley, a few kilometers away from the ruins of Sarmizegetusa), in the autumn of 1802.

The discoverer had been denounced at the end of February the following year, but the authorities started an investigation only at the beginning of the summer and forbade all other private searches on the imperial lands. The investigator, Paul Török,<sup>2</sup> went at the beginning of June to Ocolișul Mic, where the discoverer was living, and then he climbed up the Ceata Hill, at the place indicated by the villager. In the meantime, on the 16th of June, the priest from Vâlcelele Bune, shortly followed by a larger group of searchers, discovered in the vicinity of the ruins from Grădiștea a hoard of 400 kosons, near the path leading to Godeanu Hill. The news was quickly spread and numerous villagers climbed

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<sup>1</sup> PEȚAN 2018, 44 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> For Török's activity, see MITTHOF-MÁDLY 2016.







The text starts with a disambiguation: "There has been for some time much talk about treasures found and about an antique city or fortress discovered in our country. The rumors spread about this topic are so different and even contradictory that it is our duty to set the truth in its own right, according to the official reports".

There follows the presentation of three important events. The first is the discovery of a monetary treasure in the month of March of the same year, by two Romanians, Ieremia Toma and Zaharia Andrei, in the woods around Ocolișul Mic. The former found 214 pieces, the latter 66, and all the 280 pieces were handed over to the mint of Alba Iulia, hence they were sent to the Treasuriate of Sibiu which, in turn sent them to Vienna. The treasure consisted of Lysimachos-type gold coins, just two pieces belonging to Pharnakes and Asander.

Undoubtedly, it is the treasure of Arimie Popa, investigated by Török in June 1803. Probably, the real name was Ieremia Toma, as mentioned by the Treasuriate, but in the investigations, it appears as Arimie, while "Popa" ["priest" in Romanian] must be related to his office as a priest. The number of pieces is the same both in the witnesses' declarations and in the report, but the place of discovery is different: the press release mentioned the woods around Ocolișul Mic, while the investigation pointed at the Ceata Hill, on the Anineș Valley. As to Zaharia Andrei, the person who seemingly accompanied Arimie/Ieremia, he was mentioned only in the press release.

The second item of information is related to the discovery of the ruins of an old city of considerable size, in the woods of Hunedoara

County, up the Grădiștea Mountains. No inscriptions had been found yet, to enable us establish the old name of this city. A single piece of brick was found, engraved with the letters PERSCO Rilo.

These items of information, even if scarce, were taken from Török's report of 4 July, which also mentioned the discovery of the famous pot fragment carrying the embossed inscription PER SCORILO, discovered on 1 July 1803.<sup>6</sup>

The third event is represented by the discovery of a gold koson-type coin hoard, by another Romanian priest. The discovery was made in the neighborhood of Godeanu Mountain (spelled *Gottiano* or *Gattano* in different publications that published the news). The pieces, 400 in number, very well preserved, were purchased by the Treasury of Sibiu at the price of 4217 florins. There follows a description of this monetary type and a few opinions on the origin of kosons. It is acknowledged that they are 2000 years old and it is pointed out that the opinions of the numismatists are divergent: these coins are either supposed to have been issued in the Etruscan city of COSAE, or assigned to Marcus Iunius Brutus. The legend ΚΟΣΩΝ was misspelled in *Wiener Zeitung*, as Κοζην, but it was corrected by the editors of other publications, who drew the attention upon this mistake.

We are certainly talking about the treasure found by the priest from Vâlcelele Bune near a spring in the vicinity of the fortress, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of June 1803.

Finally, the press release states in the end that the state took steps towards continuing the diggings and investigations at the ruins discovered and around them.

## THE REACTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS

The first publications that reported on the press release and published it entirely, without alterations, was the German daily *Allgemeine Zeitung*,

issued in Munich, ten days after its publication in Vienna.<sup>7</sup> From here, at the beginning of September, the news reached Italy, where it was

<sup>6</sup> JAKÓ 1968, 435; PETAN 2018, 354 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> *Allgemeine Zeitung*, no 242, 30 August 1803, p. 968, München. Five days earlier, another newspaper from Munich published an incomplete version of this press release: *Kurpfälzbaierische Münchner Staatszeitung*, No 200, 25 August 1803, 981–982, München.



published by *Il corriere milanese*, which made a summary of the information, yet sticking to several details.<sup>8</sup> In October, in Brussels, a large excerpt was published from this letter, which was wrongly said to come from *Armstadt* (instead of *Hermannstadt*).<sup>9</sup> In Paris the news was published in the same year, to the same length as in the publications mentioned before, under the heading *Découverte de médailles et des ruines d'une ville ancienne en Transylvanie*.<sup>10</sup> The editor corrected the legend on the koson-type coins wrongly mentioned in the Viennese version of the press release.

Towards the end of the year, a brief piece of news on the discovery of the ruins was taken from this report and included in a London monthly, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1840.<sup>11</sup> The same text appeared in Dublin in February 1805.<sup>12</sup> A larger version was published by another London

magazine in 1804,<sup>13</sup> and, one year later, London readers were given access to the almost integral text of the letter sent by the Transylvanian Treasuriate.<sup>14</sup>

The news of the discovery of treasures and of an ancient city crossed the ocean in the autumn of 1804. At the beginning of September, a New York weekly<sup>15</sup> published it at length, and in the former half of 1805 one can find it in a publication from Philadelphia.<sup>16</sup> The American public would have news on this site only more than a century later.<sup>17</sup>

The information spread at the slowness that characterized those times and until it got to England or over the ocean, the excavations had already been closed and the subject abandoned. Nevertheless, the fact that the news was spread all over the world within a year and a half, shows the high interest of the international press for this topic.

## NEWS IN THE LOCAL PRESS

The news in the local press is more numerous. Very short after the press release made by the Treasuriate, on 1 August 1803, the Transylvanian newspaper *Siebenbürger Bote* published an article signed by Franz Xaver Hene<sup>18</sup> about the coins found by the treasure hunters in the vicinity of the ruins from Grădiștea Muncelului. Hene's text announced the beginning of the diggings managed by the authorities, the mobilization of the appropriate institutions and it promised to publish the results at the proper moment (which, unfortunately, never happened).

It was also in August 1803 that *Zeitschrift von und für Ungarn*<sup>19</sup> published a text signed by the Saxon historian Joseph Karl Eder, under the title *Antiquarische Erörterung neulich in Siebenbürgen gefundener Goldmünzen und Ruinen*, about the gold coins discovered by the treasure hunters at Grădiștea Muncelului. The discussion was focused on the interpretation of the koson-type coins, but it also gave some information on the ruins. The author mentioned remnants of walls and of a gate, carved stones and roof tiles and

<sup>8</sup> *Il corriere milanese*, lunedì, 5 settembre 1803, 570, Milano.

<sup>9</sup> *Le nouvel esprit des journaux français et étrangers*, tome second, octobre 1803, 124–125, Bruxelles.

<sup>10</sup> *Magasin encyclopédique, ou journal des sciences, des lettres et des arts*, rédigé par A.L. Millin, IXe année, tome troisième, 1803, 219–220, Paris.

<sup>11</sup> *The Monthly Magazine; or British Register*, 16, part. II for 1803, no 109, January 1, 1804, 6 of vol. 16, 565, London.

<sup>12</sup> *Walker's Hibernian Magazine, or Compendium of Entertaining Knowledge*, for February 1805, 123, Dublin.

<sup>13</sup> *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle for the year MDCCCIV*, 74, Part the first, 1804, 58, London.

<sup>14</sup> *The Philosophical Magazine: comprehending the various branches of sciences, the liberal and fines arts, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce*, by Alexander Tillich, 20, 1805, 282–283, London.

<sup>15</sup> *Prospect: or View of the Moral World*, for the year 1804, by Elihu Palmer, 1, no 40, Septembre, 8, 1804, 320, New York.

<sup>16</sup> *The Literary Magazine, and American Register*, for 1805, from January to June, 3, 1805, 477, Philadelphia.

<sup>17</sup> In the summer of 1934, a special correspondent of *The New York Times* announced that, finally, the capital of the Dacian Kingdom, the legendary city of Decebalus, Trajan's terrible opponent, was discovered. Although the ruins had already been known for over a century, their identification with Sarmizegetusa Regia, acknowledged only in the inter-war period, by archeologist D.M. Teodorescu, represented a sensational subject for the American press. PEȚAN 2018, 463–464.

<sup>18</sup> *Siebenbürger Bote*, 1 August 1803, no 29, apud FINÁLY 1911, 349.

<sup>19</sup> EDER 1803.



it is shown that the ruins are overgrown by an old forest. This is the first published description of the ruins. Eder had access to many of the Transylvanian archives. He is the one who saved several documents, by copying them, among which a few reports of the Austrian Tax Authority.<sup>20</sup> His information is probably sourced from these reports. His text appeared after the first digging reports had been drawn up and, for this reason, he brought extra information, as compared to the Treasuriate press release.

Most remarkably, Eder intuited the Dacian origin of these vestiges and assigned them to Decebalus who, in his opinion, would have built them for defense, after the first war with Trajan. He quotes historian Konrad Mannert, who claimed that these mountains were Decebalus' refuge place, after he had been chased out of his own residence. Just as Hene, Eder pointed out to the fact that the officials mobilized in order to investigate the area.

The text with the greatest impact all along the 19<sup>th</sup> century was that of Major Péchy Mihály, published on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1805 in a Transylvanian newspaper under the heading *Bemerkungen über die unlängst vorgefundenen alten römischen Ruinen bei Gredistie*.<sup>21</sup> Dispatched to Grădiștea Muncelului short after the diggings made by the Tax Authority had ended, the major drew up a report on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June 1805, preserved to this day in the Imperial War Archives of Vienna and immediately published by the Transylvanian magazine.

The text is short and it has two parts: the description of the most important monuments seen on the site (four in number) and an attempt at establishing the identity of the antique city. In his capacity of architect with a classic instruction, Péchy was influenced by what he knew from Greek and Roman architecture, so that he sought for similarities in the vestiges from Grădiște. Thus, the great stone circle was, in his

opinion, a *monopteros*-type temple, by analogy with the one in Pozzuoli (which proved later to be a *macellum*). The large building south of the fortification was that of a Roman bath, according to him. He also noticed the city walls, built of limestone and a clay pipeline placed on carved stone blocks. His conviction was that the ruins of Grădiștea Muncelului are those of a Roman city, identified as *Aquae*.

The echoes of this text are to be found a few years later in the press: for instance, in 1807, *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* published a press review for the year 1805 and included an abstract of Péchy's article.<sup>22</sup>

As the chamber authorities never published the results of the excavations from 1803–1804, and Péchy's report was the only text published at that time on the excavations, the public opinion attached the major's name to these excavations. To this, surely contributed the fact that the image of the officer was attached to the garrison that had really taken part in the excavations and which the public opinion was knowledgeable of. The error persisted until the publication of the Austrian Tax Authority reports by Sigismund Jakó. He showed that Péchy was mistakenly attributed the management of the excavations, since he never took part in them, but he only visited the site one year after they had been closed.<sup>23</sup>

The public opinion must have waited with interest for the publication of the excavations' results. Unfortunately, they were not made public until a few decades ago. More than a century after Xaver Hene's article, announcing the beginning of the diggings and promising that the results would be published, Finály Gábor pointed out that nothing had been published related to the official endeavors deployed at these ruins and he, somehow ironically, expressed his hope that they would not have to wait for another hundred years to hear some news related to this topic.<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately, his fears turned true.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> PEȚAN 2018, 133.

<sup>21</sup> PÉCHY 1805. For a detailed analysis of this report see PEȚAN 2018, 129–131 and 241–243.

<sup>22</sup> *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* vom Jahre 1807, Erste Band, Januar bis Junius, no 98, 24 April 1807, Coll. 780, Halle-Leipzig.

<sup>23</sup> JAKÓ 1973, 636.

<sup>24</sup> FINÁLY 1911, 349; FINÁLY 1916, 12.

<sup>25</sup> The excavation reports were identified in archives and edited by S. Jakó in 1966–1973, but they were turned into account only in 2018, see PEȚAN 2018, 82.



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# LIFE ON ROMAN LIMES. CIVILIAN SETTLEMENTS ON EASTERN LIMES OF DACIA (BETWEEN THE CAMPS FROM BRÂNCOVENEȘTI AND SĂRĂȚENI)

Nicoleta MAN\*

*The term rural settlement requires some definition. Rural settlement are the settlements that did not have an urban or military character or a specialised industrial function, but was primarily an agricultural base. The Eastern Limes of Dacia was effectively rural. A settlement itself is an area of domestic occupation that was substantial enough to leave physical traces.*

**Keywords:** Dacia, limes, civilian vicus, roman settlement

**Cuvinte cheie:** Dacia, limes, vicus, așezare romană

Eastern limes of Dacia, between Brâncovenеști and Sărățeni was located behind volcanic mountains Călimani, Gurghiu, Harghita. Mureș Valley and its tributaries offer opportunities for building camps and the flat summit of the mountains for the emplacement of guard towers.

A *limes* was not only a military environment<sup>1</sup> although this was his main attribute. Over the border, especially in river valleys or gentle slopes of the sub-Carpathian where farming conditions, subsoil exploitation of livestock was born settlements with rural character. Marginal depressions are characterized by hilly terrain or a high plain with good agricultural terraces and rich reserves of salt.<sup>2</sup> In the vicinity of the limes are certified, both through research and by chance finds, a series of small settlements, which were built after the founding of the Province, but some are further Dacian settlements. I have intentionally omitted *vici militaris* and military watch towers,

considering it military remains or points developed in close connection with the Roman army presence in this area. Points with Roman discoveries on this section of the *limes* are:

## Deda

Roman Road is identified near the Mureș valley to the top called Scaunul Domnului. Ancient ruins under the feudal castle and around it have proved unfounded.<sup>3</sup>

## Bistra Mureșului

At point long before the alignment of forts, was discovered a gold ring, brooches, weapons etc. without ceramic, just below the topsoil at a depth of 0.20 m. Although the place is suitable for the emplacement of a tower, it has not been identified. In point "Monastery" located throughout the valley of Bistra, close to uncovering those parts was supposed the existence of a Roman

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<sup>1</sup> OLTEAN-HANSON 2001, 123–134; MORILLO-DOMINGUEZ 2012, 519–530.

<sup>2</sup> OLTEAN 2004, 143–164; RORISON 2001, 24–101; SALWAY 1967.

<sup>3</sup> NEIGEBAUER 1851, 250; GOOS 1876, 70; MARȚIAN 1920, 284; CHRISTESCU 2004, 103; CHRISTESCU 2009, 109; PAULOVICS 1944, 26; FERENCZI-PETICĂ 1982, 568–570; LAZĂR 1995, 119.



tower, but the researches carried out in this place in 1981 did not reveal any Roman traces.<sup>4</sup>

### Rușii Munți

In the place called "Monastery", in north-east part of the village (old hearth of the village) was discovered a Roman rural settlement from which were found incidentally two *lucernae* (mark *Octavi*) and a ceramic glass from a Roman settlement.<sup>5</sup>

### Maiorești

From the zone of the village come some substructures of the walls and brick-shaped mosaic from a Roman settlement.<sup>6</sup>

### Aluniș

A settlement is located on the left bank of the Mureș in place called "Fortress Hill" (Varbitsa). Here are presents substructures of stone walls, brick and pieces of tiles and mosaic low 8-shaped. Here is reported a wave of ground, with traces of Roman building probably a stone tower.<sup>7</sup>

### Vălenii de Mureș

The site is considered as traces of a tower dating from Roman times. It's place at 2–3 km in a straight line from the camp of Brâncovenești. Here is possible to preserve the traces of a Roman settlement.<sup>8</sup> Surveys made here in 1997 revealed traces of a residential area with a fireplace outside house and a modest ceramic inventory.<sup>9</sup>

### Batoș

Incidentally was discovered a silver denarius from the time of Vespasianus, issued in 79 AD.

Av. IMP(erator) T(itus) CAESAR

VESPASIANUS AUG(ustus), king's head, crowned with laurel, on the right;

Rv. TR(ibunicia) POT(estate) VIII CO(n) S(ul) VII, character with a bare chest, leaning in his right knee, with head to the left.<sup>10</sup>

At the north of the village, in the point "Gledinel", there is a settlement with several levels of living, one of them, from Roman Period. From here have been harvested several Roman pottery fragments.<sup>11</sup>

### Uila

Roman observation tower and imperial Roman coins from Vespasian and Septimius Severus.<sup>12</sup>

**Dedrad** is situated about 7 km distance to the border. To the east of the village, can be collected from the ground surface, together with Roman pottery other remains of material culture, indicating the existence of a Roman settlement.<sup>13</sup> In the spring of 1964 was discovered by chance, about 300 m north-northeast of the meeting point of the road, that leads the village with the road that comes from Reghin, a deposit of iron pieces and some ceramics fragments at 0.40 m depth and an area of about 0.50 m. The deposit consists: four Dacian plug mouldboard (length: 31.8 cm, 29 cm, 28.7 cm, 37.1 cm) and one Roman plug (length: 31.6 cm), a plug with a knife (length 47.5 cm) and an iron sleeve for fixing. Pottery was dating in the second and third centuries. They also observed other traces from buildings and walls.<sup>14</sup>

In 1965 was initiated a research, on the site where it was discovered the iron deposit. The conclusion after research was there was a rural

<sup>4</sup> ZRINYI-PETICĂ 1994, 599–600.

<sup>5</sup> LAZĂR 1995, 205; POPA 2002, 159.

<sup>6</sup> NEIGEBAUER 1851, 252; MARȚIAN 1920, 415; LAZĂR 1995, 205; POPA 2002, 112.

<sup>7</sup> NEIGEBAUER 1851, 252; ACKNER 1856, 25; II (1857) 81; GOOS 1876, 91; ORBÁN 1869, IV, 78; PAULOVICS 1944, 31; LAZĂR 1995, 46.

<sup>8</sup> PAULOVICS 1944, 26; PETICĂ-ZRINYI 1995, 127–130; FERENCZI-PETICĂ 1995.

<sup>9</sup> PETICĂ-ZRINYI 2000, 327–328.

<sup>10</sup> PETICĂ 1977, 452.

<sup>11</sup> LAZĂR 1975, 605–611.

<sup>12</sup> LAZĂR 1995, 70.

<sup>13</sup> GLODARIU 1974, 227–243.

<sup>14</sup> GLODARIU-CÂMPIANU 1966, 19–32.



settlement, totally destroyed by the agricultural works.<sup>15</sup> In the two sections have outlined, were discovered three housing area with adobe walls, consisting of one room and a domestic pit.

#### Goreni

Out of the village, towards Dedrad, it seems to be another Roman settlement observed only after surface evaluation.<sup>16</sup>

#### Lueriu

In this village exists two points with Roman finds, to westwards, close to Goreni and Dedrad. Ioan Vlăsa from place called "Susurduc" collected Roman bricks and pottery. In place called Huroc, at the surface appears ceramics and roman bricks.<sup>17</sup>

#### Idecu de Jos

In the section "Castle Hill" is evidence a quadrilateral construction, which may have belonged to a Roman tower, because the position gives good visibility to limes.<sup>18</sup>

#### Reghin

From the area of the town comes several Roman Imperial denarius issued under the emperors Titus, Domitianus, Nerva, Traianus, Hadrianus, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Faustina, Geta, Caracalla, Filipus Arabs, Gordina, Maximianus, Helena, Constantinus, Constantinus II.<sup>19</sup>

From a Roman settlement identified in the town, comes some Roman objects (urns, weapons, coins, etc.) and a series of 23 ornamental pieces of bronze. Roman road was found in the town on Mures valley.<sup>20</sup>

#### Apalina (now is dependent to Reghin)

Were discovered 32 silver Roman coins, 39 bronze coins, eight gold beads, 4 glass beads, an amber bead, two brass wires.<sup>21</sup>

#### Solovăstru

Some Roman ceramics, from the middle of village, are located in the County Museum collection. All are Cristești workshop provenience.

#### Jabenița

It involves the exploitation of salt from Roman times. From Jabenița come Roman Imperial Coins: a denarius from Elagabal issue in Orient between 218–220 and a sestertius of Philip the Arab, with the legend of Dacia Province.<sup>22</sup>

#### Gurghiu

Modest Roman settlement which was retained ceramic piggy banks,<sup>23</sup> a dish with lid and three Roman vessels and two coins: Antoninian from Otacilia Severa; Denarius from Severus Alexander issue in 227. Pieces are in Sighișoara Museum collection and come from the collection of Evangelical College.<sup>24</sup>

#### Ibănești

On the point called "Cetățuia mică", at about 2 km. south of the village, with clear view throw Gurghiu valley, has been identified and investigated a Roman watch tower of a quadrangular shape, with dimensions 25x17m.<sup>25</sup>

#### Hodoșa – Sâmbriaș

In the place called "Chișed Hill", a hilltop at an altitude of 675 m., is known a Roman observation tower.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>15</sup> POPESCU 1966, 709–727.

<sup>16</sup> GLODARIU 1974, 227–243; POPA 2002, 93.

<sup>17</sup> LAZĂR 1995, 248; POPA 2002, 112.

<sup>18</sup> FERENCZI–PETICĂ 1982, 570–571; ZRINYI–PETICĂ 1994, 599–600.

<sup>19</sup> CHIRILĂ ET AL. 1972, 13.

<sup>20</sup> NEIGEBAUER 1851, 250–251; GOOSS 1876, 101; CHRISTESCU 1929, 103; CHRISTESCU 2009, 109.

<sup>21</sup> DECIULESCU 1966, 586; PROTASE 1966, 87–100; SUCIU 2000, 19, 60.

<sup>22</sup> CHIRILĂ ET AL. 1972, 14.

<sup>23</sup> WINKLER 1965, 206.

<sup>24</sup> CHIRILĂ ET AL. 1972, 13; POPA 2002, 93.

<sup>25</sup> FERENCZI–PETICĂ 1982, 582–584.

<sup>26</sup> FERENCZI–PETICĂ 1982, 570–571.



### Călușeri

At the edge of the village, at place called "Saint Peter well" were found Roman coins, fragments of coarse ware and pieces of bricks, possibly from a Roman settlement.<sup>27</sup>

### Mărculeni

In place called "Ugra Mare", near the village, located at 200 m. from the border of ancient Dacia Superior, not far from the fort and the settlement of Călugăreni was discovered by chance in 1965, a warehouse containing over 400 pieces. Along with the blacksmith tools, carpentry and household items, deposit contain a significant number of agricultural tools and bronze vessels.

The deposit consists of agricultural tools: mouldboard Roman plug, a plug cutter, cutting knife, many scythes, sickles, mattocks of various types; carpentry tools: axes, fragment saw, adze, compass; blacksmithing tools: anvil, ladle, along with many other household items. In the inventory of the warehouse was part a fragmentary bronze vessel with several pieces of vessels. Dating to hide store is supposed to be attributed to the year's 171–173, in time of Marcomanic wars.

Here could be a Roman settlement or a *villa rustica*. The deposit was dated from the late 2<sup>nd</sup>, early 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>28</sup>

### Bereni

Hoard consisting of 57 Roman imperial bronze coins: Augustus, Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, Traian, Hadrian, Sabina, Antoninus Pius, Faustina Senior.<sup>29</sup>

### Sovata

On the Feldioara Hill (Földvár) have seen traces of Roman buildings, here have emerged fragments of bricks, ceramics and coins. It is

believed that the salt mines were exploited in Roman times.<sup>30</sup>

From the point called "Dealul Viilor", on the former village Șiclod are mentioned the ruins of a Roman quadrilaterals building. In the same area were identified the Roman road tracks that the location can be identified with the road connecting the fort from Sărățeni with salt mine from Praid.

"Quarry stone" is a point at the edge of town, during the excavation of the quarry land was found a Roman imperial gold coin. It seems that the piece was alone. The coin is an aureus, issued during the reign of Vespasian.<sup>31</sup>

Traces of earth walls called Fairy Road; - has uncertain origin, but is considered by some dating from Roman period.<sup>32</sup>

Although tracks are quite dense, only a few have been investigated and in a few cases had sufficient expansion, to allow reconstruction the plans, internal organization, relations with the agricultural territory and relations with the centre around which revolved economical and administrative.

However it may be noted the difference in status and level of development between rural settlements situated in towns and camps territories<sup>33</sup> or those located close to major axes of communication and villages on the periphery of the side valleys of the province. If in the first category are certified stone construction, tegular material, epigraphy, many imported products, in outlying areas, predominate the modest settlements, consisting of huts and houses of wood and adobe, with modest inventories, and limited economic circuits.

The main branch of the Roman economy remains agriculture and animal husbandry. But the introduction of new agricultural tools and their widespread use allows for the more profitable agriculture.

<sup>27</sup> ORBÁN 1869, 98; GLODARIU 1975, 242; LAZĂR 1995, 126.

<sup>28</sup> GLODARIU ET AL. 1970, 207–231.

<sup>29</sup> SUCIU 2000, 26–27; CHIRILĂ-GRIGORESCU 1981, 277–285.

<sup>30</sup> ORBÁN 1869, 14; MARȚIAN 1920, 284.

<sup>31</sup> LAZĂR 1975, 379–381; CHIRILĂ ET AL. 1980, 155–166.

<sup>32</sup> ORBÁN 1869, 14; PAULOVICS 1944, 42.

<sup>33</sup> HÖPKEN ET AL. 2016, 241–250.



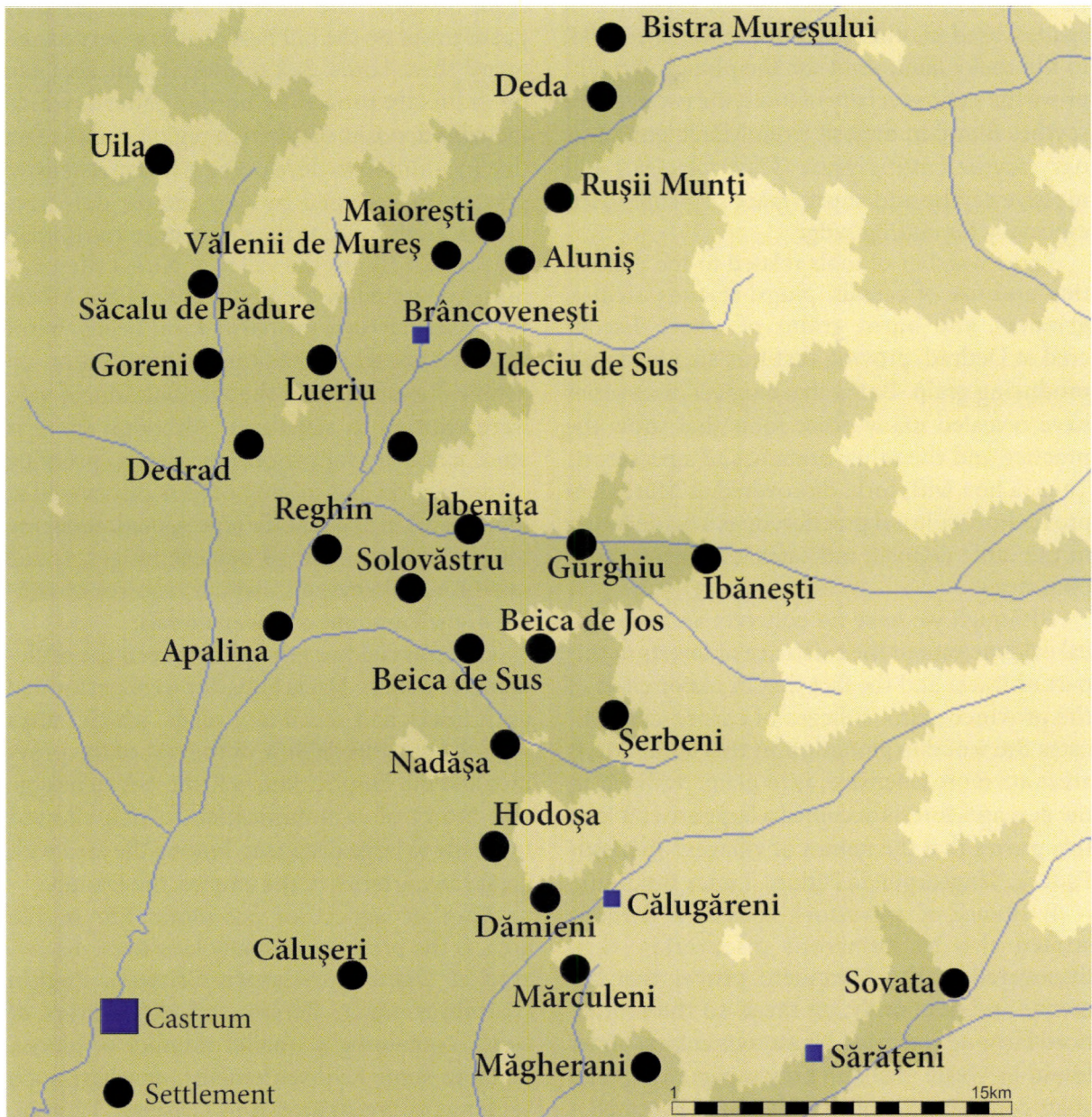


Fig. 1. Map of Roman Settlements in Eastern Dacia.

Agricultural tools used in the upper part of the Mureș valley, are known by studying farming tools discovered in deposits tools, like Mărculeni, Dedrad, or through the study of tools found during archaeological research in civil settlements from Brâncovenеști and Maiorești. The multitude and variety of agricultural implements parts of the deposits discovered in studying area are able to outline a fairly complete picture of the inventory of tools used in agriculture.

The most common tools found in such deposits are pieces of metal plough, scythes,

sickles, hoes, spades, mattocks, grinder, etc. Coulters or cutters plough are roman types.

Agricultural tools of these findings are able to give us some pointers on advanced techniques of those times. These are, first, use the most refined type of plough knew then: the plough with coulters, iron cutter and wheels. The presence in the deposit from Mărculeni, two different types of cutters plough, with different shape and massiveness, suggests using either of them, depending on soil strength, in other words, we can speak about specialized tools based on terrain features.



At such supposition leads us the existence of spades, used in other parts of the Roman world, to the rocky land, unfit for the plough. Finally, prove the same specialty of tools, the two types of scythes found in deposit from Mărculeni: ordinary scythe cutting grass (*falax foenaria*) and massive scythe and short (*falax sirpicula*) used especially for cutting sedge.

Large number of tools related to the cultivation and use of cereals: plugs, scythes, sickles, grinders, and burnt grains of wheat discovered at Dedrad, proving that this area is mainly producing grain. But archaeological discoveries have revealed many other tools that show the practice and the other branches of agriculture. Thus, a hoe with fork, discovered at Mărculeni proves horticultural practice, or as a blade found in the same deposit, indicates its use for chopping straw.

Although we have no concrete archaeological evidence about the existence of forests in this part of Dacia and the fact that in major cities of the province exists colleges of carpenters indicates the wood exploitation in this land. Forest areas are more extensive, as in plain, probably in the past ages forests occupied a large area (at least this proves that the names of villages: Ibănești-Pădure, Sângeorgiu de Pădure, Lunca Bradului).

Existence of a livestock activity is demonstrated also by numerous discoveries. Grill discovered in the Mărculeni proves that the owner and his family ate meat, so there practiced farming activities. Numerous animal bones found in Waste pits: bull bones, pigs, sheep and goats come to prove also widespread livestock.

It is believed that the salt mines from Sovata and Jabenîța were exploited in Roman times. For such an assumption also suggested building a guard tower, possibly at Gurghiu, only 4 km from the mines to Jabenîța, whose role, in addition to border defence, and that was sure to serve guard nearby salt exploitation. About of salt mines from Sovata, M. Roska still recalls in his repertoire the existence of traces of Roman material, traces which talk about salt mining since Roman times. Moreover, large military system, the camp

from Sărățeni, the wave of land and possibly guard tower on the hill Bekecs course served and guard these lands. Salt mining in this area can be indirectly proven by border pattern, which includes deposits of salt-rich region and the fact that in addition to developing a strong defensive system, represented by two camps, defensive towers, earth walls, to the saline stops the Roman road which climbs the valley of Niraj valley. Salt mines operated in the upper area of the Mureș valley satisfactory, primarily local needs, but it was sent elsewhere, making transportation on Mureș. Tenants, with the exploitation of salt, were entitled to sell them. Although there is attest a activity for processing metals (proof by casting spoon and forging objects discovered at Mărculeni), it was poorly represented, reducing the production of small objects: hinges, frame mirror, nails, keys, etc., which requires obtaining a small amount of raw materials.

Commercial ties not only between the settlements of eastern Dacia Superior were performed on primary and secondary roads, which liaises with the great trade flow in the rest of the province and the Empire. Mureș River was an important artery of communication, which allowed the trade to large distances, linking the area with great river arteries of the empire, the Danube.

Another aspect of economic life in the area, is the presence of many treasures, discovered at Dâmbău, Sălașuri, Cristești, Reghin (Dumbrăvioara), Bereni and discoveries of coins, containing a smaller number of pieces, made in some civil settlements, or where such settlements are supposed to Cristești, Tăureni, Țigăreni, Morești, Glodeni, Band, Călugăreni, Sărățeni, Brâncovenești, Deda, Solovăstru, Gurghiu, Dumbrăvioara, Ideciu de Sus, Bogata, Voivodeni etc.<sup>34</sup>

Among these, treasures from Dumbrăvioara (Reghin) and Bereni is close to the limes. Hoard from Bereni contains 57 bronze pieces (10 Dp. and 47 as) and bronze ornaments (fragmentary bracelets, a ring and a buckle or fibula). Treasure is scheduled between Augustus and Faustina, the last piece being issued in the years 150–151.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> CHIRILĂ ET AL. 1980, 24–26.

<sup>35</sup> SUCIU 2000, 26–27; CHIRILĂ–GRIGORESCU 1981, 277–285.



Hoard of Dumbrăvioara (Reghin) consisted of 600 pieces, of which 300 pieces (299 denarius and a Lycia drachmas) issued under Trajan were recovered. Chronologically, the coins are spread from Marcus Antoninus to Commodus, the last piece being issued in 180–183.<sup>36</sup>

According to Viorica Suciu interpretations, it can speak about treasures belonging to rural area, when monetary discoveries were made in areas where Roman archaeological remains are poor and there are not important settlements. Hoard from Bereni comes from an area with two *limes* camps, Sărățeni și Călugăreni, but obviously that does not reflect the economic situation of camps, because of socio-economic point of view, Bereni treasure is very modest, provided the modest betrays of its possessor. Analyzing the structure of treasures found in the vicinity of the limes and the Mureș valley (we considered treasures from Cristești, Sălașuri, Dâmbău and another treasure from the *limes*, discovered at Păuleni, it seems that they are part of a horizon of treasures, triggered

by political events during the reign of Antoninus Pius, in the 6<sup>th</sup> decade of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

All these aspects show an intense habitation of the eastern area of Dacia, among which the most important role, in the absence of cities, was detained by the *vicus militaris*, which were the main administrative centres, economic and religious of the area.<sup>37</sup>

From the administrative point of view, the territories of 11 towns of Dacia cover only a part of the province, the remaining blank spots on the map of Dacia was divided into *civitates*. Uncertainty is highest for Eastern Dacia Superior, a large area devoid of towns. An example that lends itself to the situation of Dacia, we find in northern Britannia, where British experts have proposed an administration focused on the *vici militares*, which have played the role of administrative centres for less developed areas. Applying this hypothesis to the specific case of the eastern region of Transylvania, where agglomerations are concentrated around the camps, so the *vici militares*, this hypothesis appears plausible.

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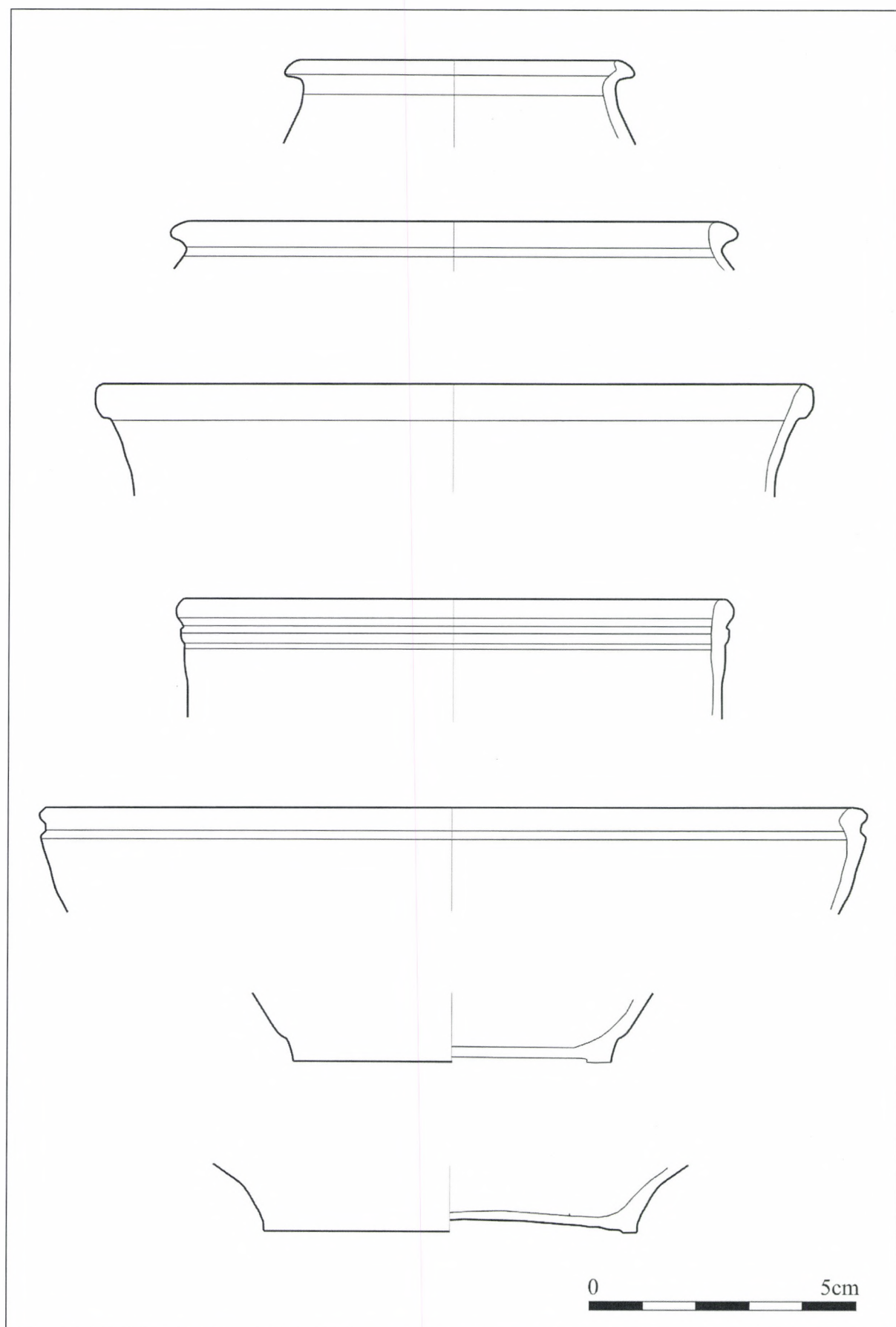


Plate 1. Roman Pottery from Gorenî.

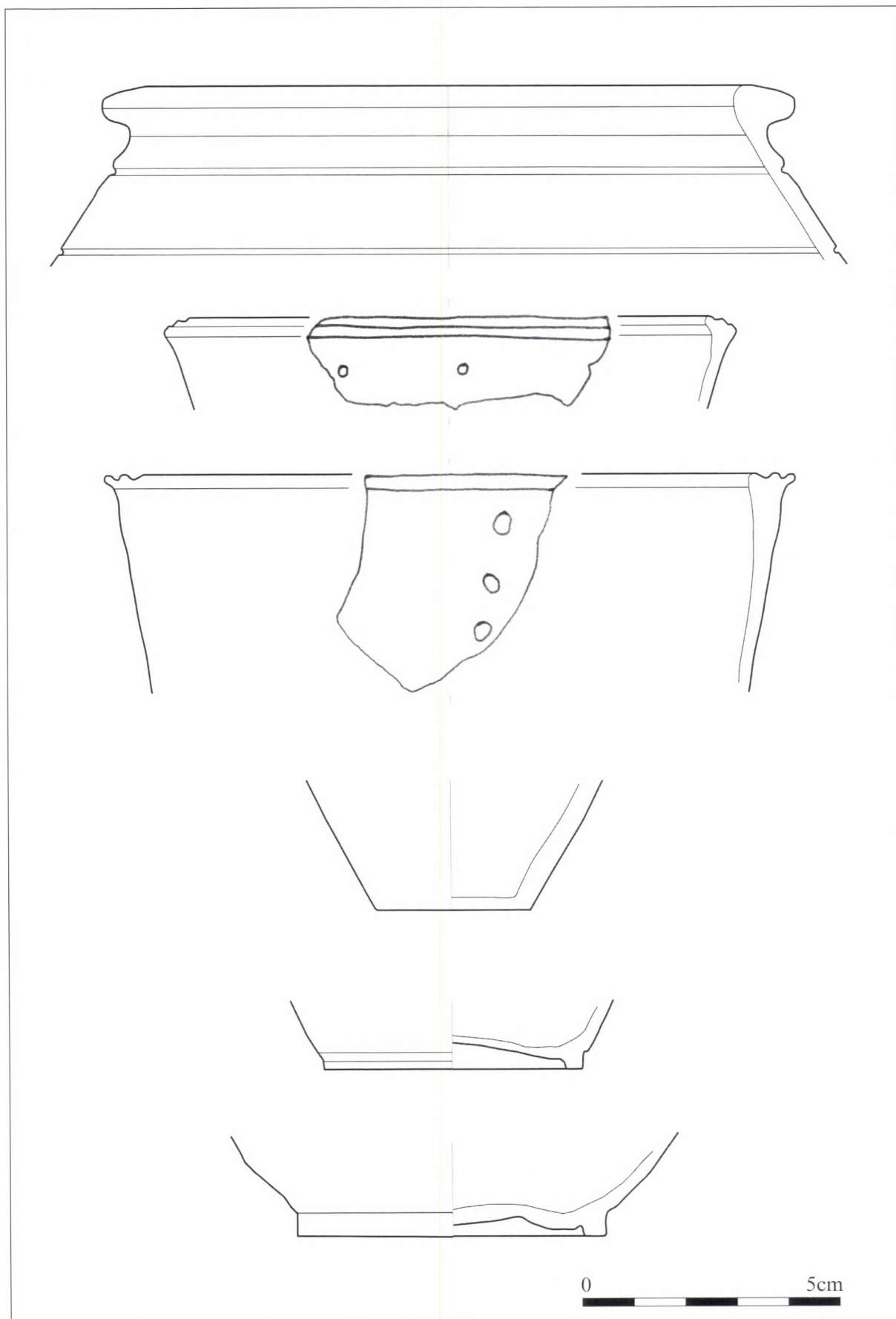


Plate 2. Roman Pottery from Goren.





Plate 3. Roman Pottery from Goren.

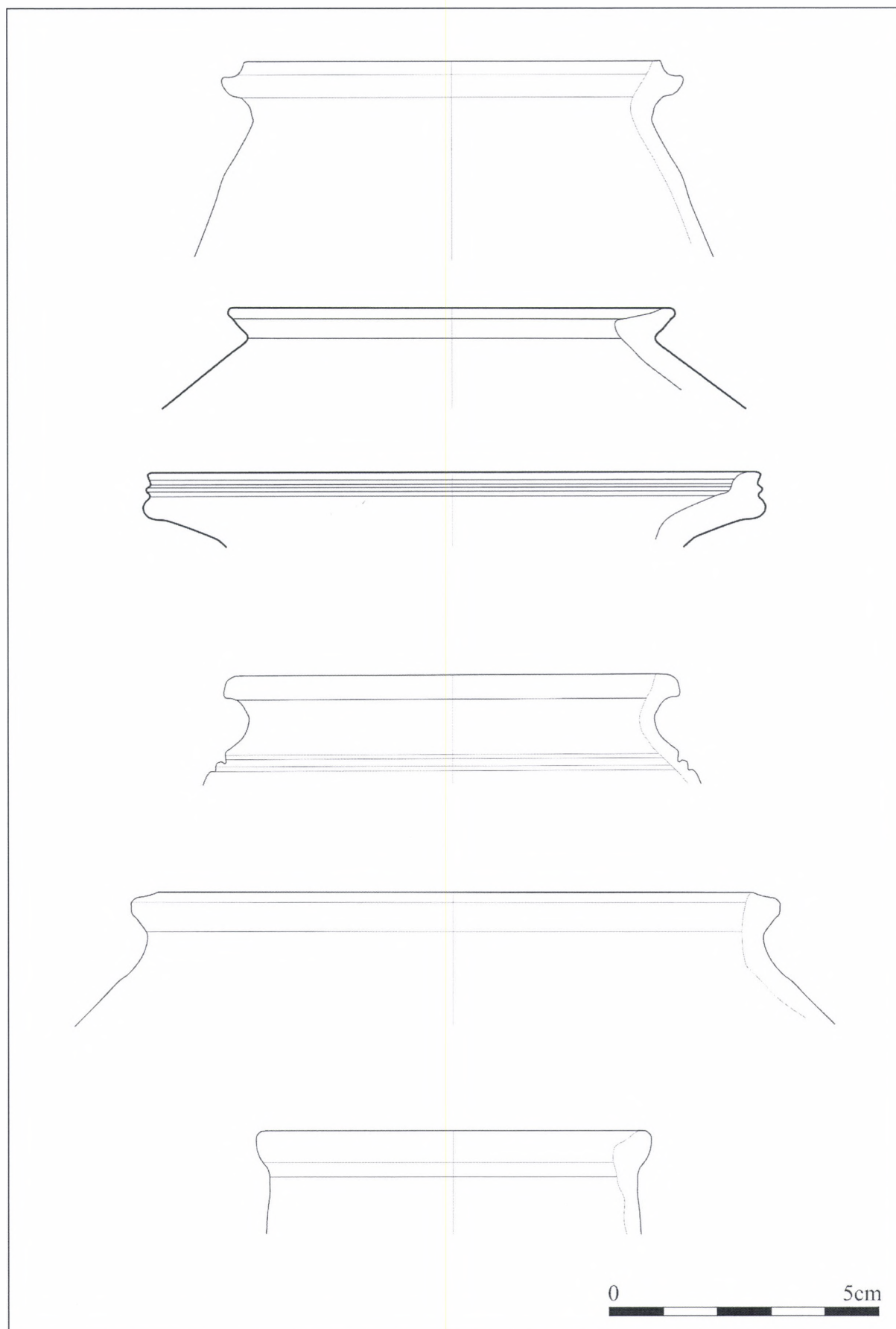


Plate 4. Roman Pottery from Batoș.



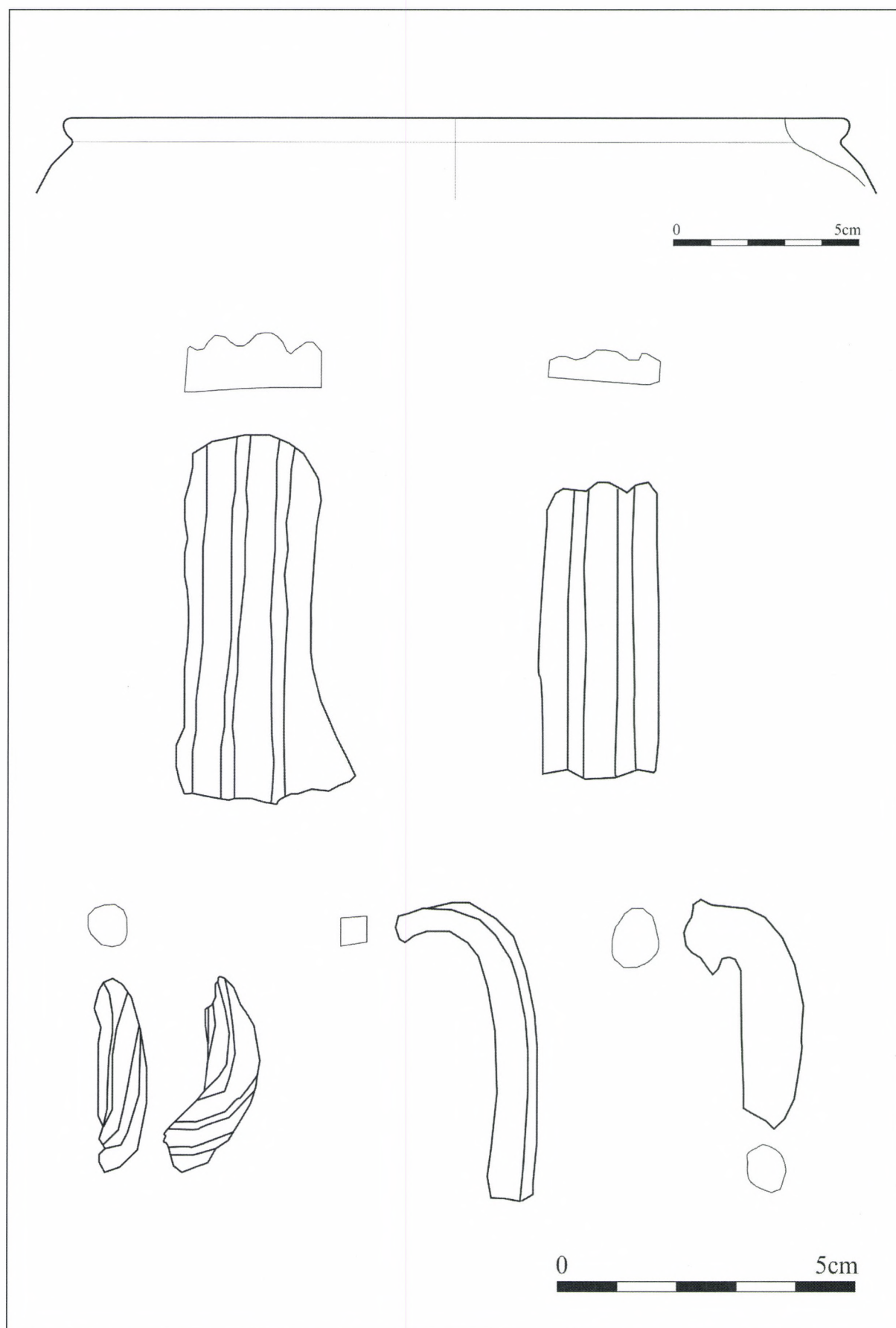


Plate 5. Roman Pottery from Batoș.

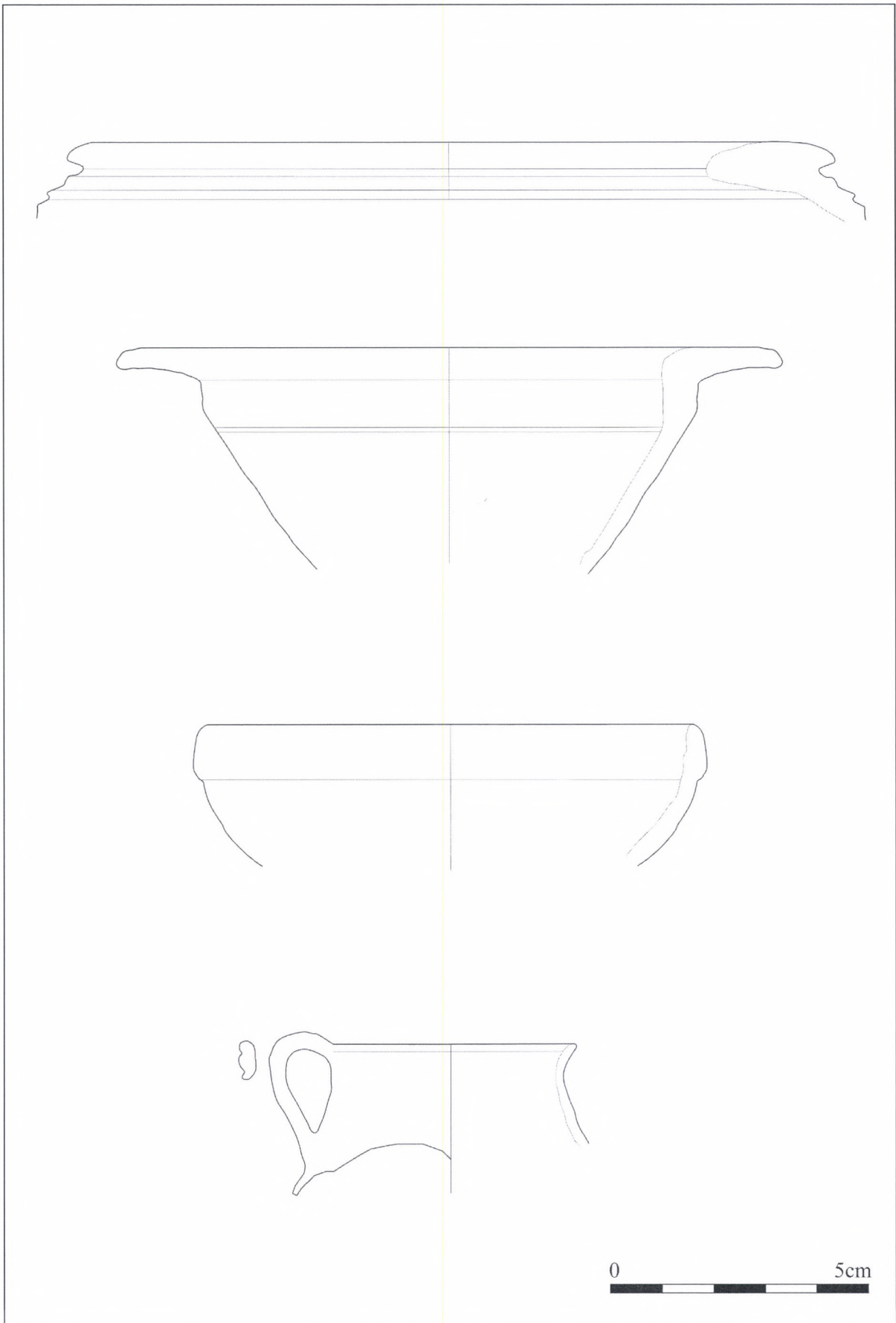


Plate 6. Roman Pottery from Batoș.





## TWO SCULPTURAL PIECES RECENTLY RETURNED TO THE NATIONAL CULTURAL HERITAGE

Marius Mihai CIUTĂ\*

*During the last 20 years, the phenomenon of poaching the archaeological sites has been developed in Romania, in order to obtain artefacts, which can be later capitalized through the illegal trade on the black market of antiques. Many decontextualized archaeological pieces - some of them of inestimable value - now belong to unauthorized collections some of which have been the subject of judicial investigations for the purpose of recovery of the artefacts but also the information regarding their discovery. The present study discusses two sculptural pieces, 'discovered' in a so called: 'private collection' of a citizen from Alba Iulia. The data obtained through the judicial investigations, corroborated with the typological-stylistic and functional analyses, concludes for the origin of artefacts in the area of Bucerdea Grânoasă village (Búzásbocsárd, Alba County) and in the roman antique city of Apulum.*

**Keywords:** *private collection, penal files, artefacts, Roman, Romanesque*

**Cuvinte cheie:** *colecție privată, dosare penale, sculptură, epoca romană, romanic*

The last 15 years represented for the field bibliography in Romania an obvious increase of studies and articles wherein there are published lots of decontextualized<sup>1</sup> artefacts recovered during judicial investigations, from various owners, pieces that made the scope of investigation of certain criminal files. The phenomenon of collecting valuable cultural items is a natural one, however during the last decades it became increasingly popular in the Romanian society, while unfortunately the society does not have positive traditions and proper administrative background

concerning the collection of cultural artefacts as well as their trade market.

The two sculptural artefacts making the object of this study belong to the category of archaeological items susceptible to belong to the national cultural heritage, turned under various circumstances, illicit, to be 'displayed' in improper conditions, within so called 'private collections', most of the times unauthorized. The driving force behind the habit to collect such cultural pieces is the desire to obtain financial benefits as a result of the treasuring up/capitalization of

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<sup>1</sup> SÎRBU ET AL. 2005; FERENCZ-RĂDEANU 2002; CIUTĂ 2013; CIUTĂ 2014; BORANGIC-CIUTĂ 2014; CIUTĂ-CIUTĂ 2015; PLANTOS-CIUTĂ 2016; CIUTĂ-BORANGIC 2016; BORANGIC-BĂDESCU 2017. The artefacts where the subject of a criminal case under the supervision of the Prosecutor's Office attached to the Alba Iulia Courthouse, no. 370/P/2018, initiated on the occasion of exploitation of data from open sources, followed by the unavailability of a lot of artefacts susceptible of belonging to the national cultural heritage, whose protection regime is stipulated by the specialized legislation (OG 43/2000 republished; Law 182/2000; Law 422/2001). The purpose of such criminal cases is to clarify the circumstances wherein such items in most cases have been illegally owned within so-called private collections, namely their unavailability and integration into museum collections. The legal regime of archaeological artefacts stolen from protected archaeological sites on the territory of Romania is regulated by the normative acts in force, and there is already considerable jurisprudence in this field (see LAZĂR 2008, 125-176). The criminal file was solved and the unavailable goods entered the museum's collection.





Fig. 1. The room where the artefacts were found: the limestone lion (1) in the lower right corner, the sandstone lion head on the shelf (2).



Fig. 2. Photo of the limestone lion, at the time of the judicial search.

the items belonging to the cultural heritage. It can be connected also to certain behaviours that strive towards being exotic, with aristocratic and intellectual hue, meant to induce the affiliation to certain social status, allegedly elitist in nature. The origins of this behavioural pattern are lost into the haze of times, usually being associated more with the mercantile spirit, not very rarely being assimilated, in extreme cases, to some pathologic type of manifestations.

The sculptural pieces were found at the residence of a citizen from Alba Iulia in February 2018 along with further archaeological and art objects (Fig. 1–2). The suspicions related to their illegal origin, determined the start-up of a judicial investigation, followed by the unavailability of such items,<sup>2</sup> their submission, as *corpus delicti* items, at the National Unification Museum in Alba Iulia. First judicial activity was the solicitation, by means of the *Ordinance* from 16

February 2018, of an expert report concerning each of these items.<sup>3</sup>

The judicial objectives of recovery of the artefacts lot, respectively the clarification of the circumstances whereby they ended up in the possession of the individual, are completed by those related to the recovery of the information with relevance for the historical interpretation and their significance. By exclusively claiming the archaeological interest, the recovery of direct or indirect data and information was attempted, related to the way the collector ended up owning the items.<sup>4</sup> Whereas there is always the risk for the investigated individual to have certain fears and suspicions, respectively hide their true origin, to skew the conditions of the discovery or the path followed by the artefact, the data provided must be filtered, thereafter verified and investigated by all means and methods.

<sup>2</sup> From the home of the citizen S.N. 14 cultural items were taken, including 8 of archaeological provenience and 6 religious items (old books, wood icons and glass icons). The pieces have been filed as *corpus delicti* offenses at the National Museum of the Union of Alba Iulia.

<sup>3</sup> On 2 March 2018, the Expert Report submitted to the file concerning the two pieces, made by dr. Radu Ciobanu, expert at the National Unification Museum in Alba Iulia, confirm the suspicion: "The piece is a Roman funerary piece of art, namely a funeral lion, belongs undoubtedly to the national cultural heritage and can be classified as Fund / Roman. The legal protection regime is regulated by the Government Ordinance 43/2000, Law 180/2000 and Law 128/2017. An inventory value of approximately 1000 RON can be determined. The market value of the piece in question could not yet be determined. Trade in artistic goods does not include Roman sculptural art pieces. The sculptures are identical or very similar to those found in the collection of the Museum in Alba Iulia, which came both from systematic archaeological research and other types of discoveries" (Radu Ciobanu: Expert Report within the criminal file 370/P/2018, Alba Iulia, 1 March 2018).

<sup>4</sup> The holder presents a somewhat credible version at a first glance, respectively of buying the first piece, from a citizen residing in Bucerdea Grănoasă, Alba County.



The lot presented by the present study is made up of two pieces:

1. **The lion (?) made of limestone** is fragmented and partially covered on the right side by a white coloured crust. The artefact was found in the dining room of the collector, being found deposited directly on the wood flooring, in good preservation conditions. The stony material whereof it is made is a rough limestone, white-grey, displaying characteristics specific to limestone within the area of Trascăului Mountains, easy to process by carving and polishing, as a result of its properties. The piece shows a specific patina but also deposits of limestone, that can be explained by the fact that a good part of its existence, was either stored underground, or in open space. It is fragmented, evidently showing fractures, however made in antiquity, as they were covered by a white coloured film, that we interpret to be whitewash, therefore pleading for the idea that it was part of a fence wall, circumstance wherein it was covered, presumably periodically, by a lime solution, applied with a brush.

The sizes of the sculptural piece are: 44 cm maximum length; 34 cm maximum height; 18 cm maximum thickness. The most prominent rupture is the one on the back of the lion, who is missing the extremity of the left thigh and part of the tale. The artefact was made by the technique of carving and polishing, being visible

the traces of chisel on the unfinished sides. The method of rendering of the animal is found to be clumsy, disproportioned. The head is way too big in relation to the body, and the volumetric values of body parts, as well as the features of the nose, are unnatural. From the different way of approaching the head, are clearly highlighted the neuro-cranium (brain box), volumetric spherical volumetric, respectively the viscera-cranium (nose), elliptical volumetric (Fig. 3).

The mane is done by means of linear curve incisions, relatively parallel, disposed under the shape of inlaid arcades (intersected), leading to the volume effect, and on the head is done symmetrical, starting from the middle of the forehead or the root of the nose. On the forehead, the start of the mane is shaped in slightly arched 'V'-s, which are parallel to the arches and frame, in the middle, a triangle (Fig. 2-3). It is an area whereupon the craftsman insisted for a long time, taking care of the details.

The eyes are exophthalmic, well contoured and singularized, under the form of deep incisions; the arches are prominent, being shaped inclusively the eyeball, under the shape of notches. The nose is enormous, being broken from antiquity, strongly moulded, resulting in a mouth of high size and deeply scooped. The tongue is not visible nor are the teeth identifiable, but it is not excluded for them to have been

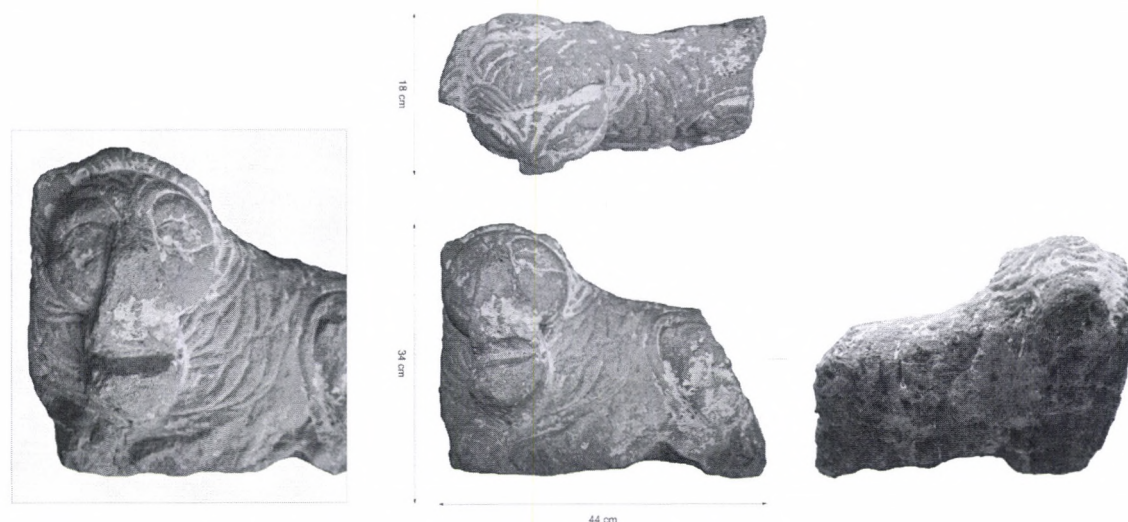


Fig. 3. The limestone lion



shaped. Also, the front legs are merely suggested, possibly in order to induce the idea that the piece is overlapped on a base. The ample mane of the lion is extended towards the back, under the head and on the side of the body, and the back thigh, partially maintained, keeps a part of the shape of the tale, which evolved parallel to the line of the thigh (Fig. 3). The attitude of the lion was meant to be fierce, imposing. The iconographic design of the lion respectively the position of the iconographic elements seems to be one regular within the Roman antiquity.

The monument was meant to be looked from the front, respectively was applied on wall or bench, as proved by the negligent approach of the back side of the statuary representation, whereof one can see only negligent traces of the chisel (pick) of the craftsman, who only wanted to level that surface and under any form did he want to cover it by decorative elements (Fig. 3). This is not a *stylophore* lion, as it doesn't have any trace of column. It is not an independent lion, but more of a pair (in the Roman era, the pairs appear adhered, very rarely affronted), occurrence that can be confirmed by the break on the back of the lion, that could have had, therefore, a pair on the left side.

According to the size, this figurative monument should be readily located on a building rather as cornice, as the stele or the base (in case of a monument made up of several segments) should be tall and thick.

The dating suggested by the expert for the sculptural piece – starting from the technique elements of the iconographic representations, of provincial nature – is somewhere at the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Hadrian era) or, rather, the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (era of the Severi).<sup>5</sup> Considering that this piece might even come from 'a workshop outside Dacia, probably Asia Minor', as location of the crafting, relating

the conclusion to 'the larger context of the pieces discovered in Apulum or Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, showing similar execution techniques, but of a better nature, attest, probably, the entering within the province of Dacia of certain elements from the population from Asia Minor'.<sup>6</sup> According to the stylistic analysis we consider the lion a Roman funeral monument, dating from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>7</sup>

For the cultural-chronologic interpretation but also to understand its correct origin, we have to appeal also to the data provided by the collector. He stated that he bought the funeral lion from a local in Bucerdea Grânoasă (Hu: Búzásbocsárd, Alba county), who owned the piece embedded into the wall of his household. It is already well known the situation wherein the sculptural or epigraphic Roman monuments (or medieval), are framed, with a functional, but also decorative purpose, into the walls of old houses or built-in walls from various urban and rural areas of Transylvania.<sup>8</sup> The origin of such sculptural-decorative elements is not mandatory to come from the border of the respective place as there are cases when the peasants being outside their area of abode, to discover such pieces under various circumstances and would take them and transport them for the aforementioned purposes. As the numerous examples show, such monuments or fragments of monuments could had been found *in situ* at large distances from their place of storage.

In the archaeological repertoire of the Alba County no Roman finds are mentioned in the vicinity of Bucerdea Grânoasă.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, Roman finds were not found on the territory of the neighbouring villages of Bucerdea Grânoasă (Crăciunelul de Jos, Cistei,<sup>10</sup> Mihalt, Ocnișoara etc). The only exception is the settlement (and the necropolis) from Obreja (Mihalt),<sup>11</sup> located at a distance of about 10–12 km towards west, downstream on the

<sup>5</sup> Radu Ciobanu, Expert report within the criminal file 370/P/2018, Alba Iulia, 1 March 2018 (criminal file).

<sup>6</sup> Radu Ciobanu, Expert report within the criminal file 370/P/2018, Alba Iulia, 1 March 2018 (criminal file).

<sup>7</sup> We would like to thank for the kind information provided by dr. Alexandru Sonoc, National Museum Brukenthal, Sibiu.

<sup>8</sup> POPA-TOTOIANU 2003, 215–230; POPA-TOTOIANU 2009, 73–90, notes 43–45, with further bibliography regarding the origins and significance of the Roman funeral lions.

<sup>9</sup> REPALBA 1995, 63–64.

<sup>10</sup> From this place shaped Roman blocks are mentioned (REPALBA 1995, 76).

<sup>11</sup> Here a 'Dacian-Roman' settlement was reported and researched in the place called Cânepi and Tăul lui Filip, and its



left bank of Târnava River, but where such funeral monuments have not been discovered.

Judging by the accentuated mobility of such decorative artefacts, if we accept the dating of the funeral lion as being Roman, the closest potential place of discovery could be on the Mureş valley at Aiud (Brucla) or Ocna Mureş (Salinae); or maybe in the Târnava valley at Blaj,<sup>12</sup> Micăsasa<sup>13</sup> etc.

However, if the piece really comes from Bucerdea Grânoasă, than it is not excluded that it was a Romanesque (medieval) monument.<sup>14</sup> Such rudimentary Romanesque sculptures of small sized lions are numerous in Transylvania. Within other areas there are also known funeral lions of such sizes, yet in Transylvania the preserved Romanic lions are few. The Middle Age representation of replicas of Roman funeral lions is widespread. According to its functionality, the lion was certainly attached to a wall. If we accept its medieval origin it can be presumed that the lion had a pair, attached or affronted, since in that period both variants are met.

There are frequent the situations when the lions inspired by the antic heraldic model were reproduced by medieval craftsmen for the decoration of funeral or even religious or laic monuments.

The church from Bucerdea Grânoasă was built in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. A local legend tells about a church built here at the order of the King Holy Stephen I. Such construction is neither attested nor archeologically documented, but it is possible that the reformed church in Bucerdea Grânoasă to originate in earlier times (12–13<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>15</sup> situation wherein the presence of a sculptural

piece representing a Romanic lion copying the Roman funeral monuments could be explained. If the piece in question is Romanesque, than undoubtedly it was not a funeral lion, rather it was an ornament of a religious building, lion being a common known evangelic symbol (associated to the Mark the Evangelist or Prophet Daniel). Therefore, one should take into consideration that the fragment was not a funeral monument.

For the aforementioned reasons and under the reserve that the piece truly originates from the village indicated by the collector, we consider that in this case the lion is a Romanesque sculpture – of potential religious significance – and not the fragment of a Roman funeral monument.

**2. The fragmented lion head** made of calciferous grey coloured slate (Fig. 4) was 16 cm wide, 16 cm long and 15 cm thick. The heavily fragmented piece represents the head a funeral lion, wherefrom only the face was preserved. It is missing the inferior part of the mouth and chin, as well as top of the head elements. Also, the front side of the nose was broken in antiquity. The essential iconographic elements are visible for this type of pieces, namely the eyes, treated in a levelled and symmetrical manner, as well as the mane on the head. The whiskers of the animal are represented by means of three deep incision pairs under the shape of arches. There are sufficient stylistic elements characteristic to the Roman provincial art, to tie the piece to a workshop from the Roman Dacia.<sup>16</sup>

According to its owner, the piece was found in a pile of land in the area of the CFR railway station in Alba Iulia, on the present location of the store *Penny*, more than 15 years ago, during

necropolis with more than 240 cremation graves and 6 inhumation graves was found 400 meters westward (REPALBA 1995, 132–134. with further bibliography).

<sup>12</sup> REPALBA 1995, 58–60. The existence here of a Roman settlement, presumed by A. Cserny and Király, is not verified but nor is it excluded. In the place known as Căstău a Roman settlement has been identified by prof. I. Man.

<sup>13</sup> LUCA ET AL. 2003, 138–139.

<sup>14</sup> For information regarding the medieval monuments we would like to thank Zeno Karl Pinter and Marian Țiplic.

<sup>15</sup> LMI 2015 AB-II-m-B-00194. The first documented certification of the church is from 1303, under the name of Bocsard (<http://www.nre.ro/regiok-gyulekezetek/kukullomente/buzasbocsard-alsokaracsonyfalva>). One should notice the similarities in the planimetry and the Romanic architectural elements of the Reformed Church in Bucerdea Grânoasă with the Calvinist Reformed Church in Cetatea de Baltă (especially in the case of the bell tower and the choir), the latter being documented as early as 1177.

<sup>16</sup> Radu Ciobanu, Expert report within the criminal file 370/P/2018, Alba Iulia, 1 March 2018. According to the report: The item represents a Roman funeral art piece, more precisely a fragmented lion head, certainly belonging to the national cultural heritage, Fund category and to whom we can set a value, with inventory title of around 100 RON.





Fig. 4. Funeral lion head

the time the store was built. According to him, in the freshly excavated earth and on the left side of the future construction there were many more other archaeological materials: bricks, *tegulae*, ceramic fragments, *lucernae*, fragments of square stones etc. This information is confirmed, at least partially, by another collector in Alba Iulia – from whom several archaeological artefacts were taken in 2006 – who mentioned that in this place, on the occasion of the same construction works, he gathered fragments of columns, votive altars fragments and even a limestone slate statue representing Jupiter. During the inquiry, this later collector provided even a set of photos taken during the excavations, photos wherefrom it was easily recognizable that there were

archaeological finds and the market was built on a site with incontestable stratigraphy as shown by these photos.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, these investigations revealed a Roman site on the place of the Penny store, located in the northern part of the administrative area of antic Apulum and at a distance of approx. 400 m north from *Colonia Aurelia Apulensis*, site destroyed during the construction of the store. Therefore, the lion head fragment without a doubt comes from to the antic city of Apulum, an A category archaeological site of national interest.<sup>18</sup>

In conclusion, the information regarding the conditions of recovery of the two sculptural pieces, as well as their typo-stylistic characteristics and cultural and chronologic dating indicate that they were probably gathered in time from two different locations, as it was also confirmed by the collector.<sup>19</sup> Taking into consideration the circumstances of their identification in a ‘particular collection’, their exact place of provenance cannot be undoubtedly defined.

Our paper tried to synthesise the available information about the two pieces, also highlighting the danger of the amateur collecting phenomenon. Most of the amateur collectors lack ability or does not show interest in registering basic information about the collected archaeological artefacts or works of art. As such these usually outstanding and sometimes even unique pieces most of the time are archaeologically decontextualized. Regarding the two sculptural lion presented above further petrographic analysis or physical-chemical analysis of soil deposits could bring further relevant information regarding their place of provenance.

<sup>17</sup> These photographs will be the subject of a forthcoming study regarding the real state of archaeological heritage protection in Alba Iulia in the last 15 years. These captures evidence the destruction by the mechanical excavation of an archaeological site on an area of approx. 1000 m<sup>2</sup>, without preventive archaeological research, although the place is located in the protected area of an archaeological site (according to OG 43/2000 republished), respectively in the immediate vicinity of the administrative centre of Apulum (the current store is at 250 meters south of the Governor’s Palace on Munteniei Street and 150 meters southeast from a monumental building recently discovered on Traian Street, on the site of the former Vinalcool Factory, near Altip printing house).

<sup>18</sup> According to the Order of the Ministry of Culture and Cults no. 2426 from 27.12.2005, the site of Apulum was included on the list of the top 10 archaeological sites from Romania. Yet, this normative act, along with other 15 similar normative acts, which were meant to regulate the archaeological activity at national level, has not been published in the Monitorul Oficial, so that it does not produce legal effects.

<sup>19</sup> Together with the two sculptural pieces further prehistoric (a Neolithic hammer-axe), medieval (spears) and modern (book from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, wood and glass religious works of art from the 20<sup>th</sup> century) objects were confiscated.



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# MEDIEVAL SMALL FINDS IN THE BORDERS OF IDECIU DE JOS

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*Four kilometers from the village of Ideciu de Jos, in the area called Sânișoare, medieval iron objects and counterfeit coins were found by means of metal detectors. Documents do not mention any fortress in the area, tradition dating from the 18<sup>th</sup> century refers to the site as Sânișoare. Most of the material can be dated to the 14–15<sup>th</sup> century, the Sigismund of Luxembourg-era counterfeit coins have been of some help in this respect.*

**Keywords:** Ideciu de Jos, 14–15<sup>th</sup> century, small finds, Sigismund of Luxembourg, counterfeit coins

**Cuvinte cheie:** Ideciu de Jos, sec. XIV–XV, piese mărunte, Sigismund de Luxemburg, monede false

## INTRODUCTION

Idecu de Jos (Hu: Alsóidecs) lies at about 5 kilometers north-east from Reghin (Hu: Szászrégen) on the left bank of the Mureș river. It can be reached on county road DJ154A from Reghin to Aluniș (Hu: Magyaró).

During the Middle Ages it was part of Turda (Hu: Torda) county.<sup>1</sup> Iuliu Cristinel Pop found in 2013, on the site called Sânișoare (Hu: Nyergeshegy), at about 4 kilometers east of the village several medieval metal objects and counterfeit coins. These have become part of the Mureș County Museum's collection.

The county's oldest known owners in the Upper Mureș area were members of the Kacsics and Tomaj kindred.<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup>

century, master of the treasury Dénes (*magister tavarnicorum*) of the Tomaj kindred's<sup>3</sup> descendants owned the Gorení (Hu: Széplak) manor that encompassed the Upper Mureș Valley. In 1319 the estate belonging to Reghin was divided among the sons of Dénes of the Tomaj kindred (Losonci): Tamás, Dezső and István. Thus Ideciu de Jos, along with several other villages ended up in magister István's ownership.<sup>4</sup> Among the losers of the 1467 Transylvanian revolt, one can find the Losonci family. The treasury tax (*tributum fisci regalis*), introduced instead of the former chamber's profit (*lucrum camerae*) hit hard at the Transylvanian noblemen, since their estates had been exempt from the chamber's profit ever

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<sup>1</sup> CSÁNKI V, 708–709.

<sup>2</sup> According to a suspicious document dated 1228 king Andrew II. donated the Gorení (Hu: Dedrádszéplak) estate to master of the treasury Dénes, son of Dénes of the Tomaj kindred. The estate including the bigger part of the Upper Mureș Valley had been seized from ban Simon, who had taken part in the murder of queen Gertrúd. See: EO I, 169–170 (No. 152).

<sup>3</sup> He held the master of treasury office between 1224 and 1231. See: ZSOLDOS 2011, 295.

<sup>4</sup> EO II, 144 (No. 342).



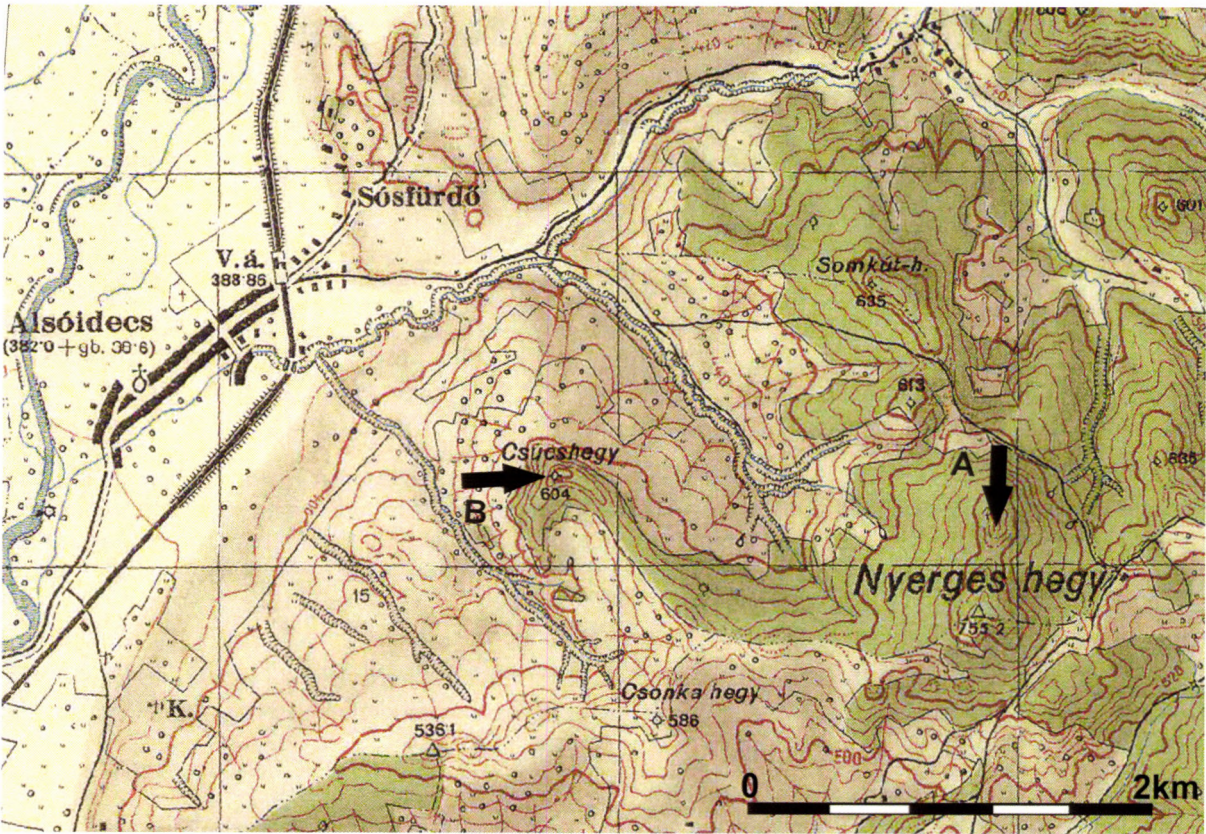


Fig. 1. Nyergeshegy (A) and Csúcshegy (B) in Idecu de Jos's border on Hungary's Military Land Survey (1941)



Fig. 2. Airview with Csúcshegy in forefront and Sânișoare/Nyergeshegy in the background (Photo: Máté Szabó, Aerial Archaeological Archive of Pécs, 17.01.2015, No. 48708)



since the time of Louis the Great. According to the new rules, royal taxes collected after bondsmen's houses were claimed by households and not by lots. Beside bondsmen, Szeklers, who had been exempt, were also bound to pay these taxes.<sup>5</sup> The getting up against the king, aimed at protecting the former privileges failed, and king Matthias soon took his revenge on his Transylvanian subjects.<sup>6</sup> Mihály Dezsőfi, grandson of Dezső Losonci was forced in 1473 to hand over to János Hungor his Idecu de Jos estate, seized by King Matthias the First, due to treason.<sup>7</sup>

Two fortress sites are known from the village's borders (Fig. 1). However, documents only mention one.

It is in 1325 that a document mentions Idecu fortress for the first time.<sup>8</sup> István's brother, magister Tamás<sup>9</sup> received compensation from Apa's son Jakab and his son, also called Jakab<sup>10</sup> who had set fire to the Idecu fortress and other estates belonging to Reghin.

In 1366 the vaivode of Transylvania's letter of arbitration confirms that compensation for the arson of Idecu fortress and estates belonging to Reghin was due only to magister Tamás. The estates received as compensation were due furthermore to his sons, Tamás and István.<sup>11</sup> This document is in all probability related to the fortress on Csúcshegy (De: Spitzberg), that lied 1,6 km southeast from the village. Remains of the fortress, the stone base of its round tower and the surrounding entrenchment and ditch are still visible.<sup>12</sup>

Among the village's boundary names one

can find in 1736 the names *Leány vár* (*Daughter's fortress*) and *Szalonna vár* (*Bacon fortress*).<sup>13</sup> János Ercsei's 1836 description calls the fortress lying on the Csúcshegy hill closer to the village *Leány vár*, the one lying on the farther hill, called *Sóshavas–Szalonna vár*.<sup>14</sup> Starting from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, László Kőváry situates both fortresses in the mountains lying above Jăbenița (Hu: Görgénysóakna), famous for its salty baths.<sup>15</sup> Later sources also mention the two sites in the mountains by the Jăbenița baths.<sup>16</sup> Transylvanian Saxon references also mention the two fortresses by the names *Spitzburg* (Hu: *Leányvár*) and *Sattelburg* (Hu: *Szalonnávár*).<sup>17</sup>

### The site

From *Leányvár* lying on Csúcshegy, one can reach *Szalonnávár* on Sânișoare (Hu: Nyergeshegy)<sup>18</sup> eastwards on a narrow crest (Fig. 2). Both fortress sites belong administratively to Idecu de Jos. According to the recently found archeological material *Szalonnávár* is supposed to have lied on the southern part of Sânișoare's northern end. Remains of the fortress's ditch and foundation wall were still mentioned in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>19</sup> The fortress's traces are no longer visible, therefore its existence was questioned due to the absence of archeological material.<sup>20</sup> For lack of written sources and knowledge of the precise medieval estate borders, it is unclear whether *Szalonnávár* belonged to the Losonci estate or to the Görgény one.

<sup>5</sup> NOGRÁDY 2005, 131.

<sup>6</sup> NOGRÁDY 2005, 132–133.

<sup>7</sup> KMJKv I, 739 (No. 2098).

<sup>8</sup> EO II, 198 (No. 527).

<sup>9</sup> Losonci Tamás held the title Count of Szeklers between 1315 and 1320. See: ENGEL 1996, 192.

<sup>10</sup> EO II, 199 (No. 529).

<sup>11</sup> EO IV, 175 (No. 409).

<sup>12</sup> KARCZAG–SZABÓ 2010, 45.

<sup>13</sup> EMSzT VII, 862; EMSzT XII, 67; SZABÓ T. 2005, 20–21.

<sup>14</sup> T. ERCSEI 1836, 103–104.

<sup>15</sup> KÖVÁRY 1847, 198; KÖVÁRY 1892, 43.

<sup>16</sup> URMÁNCZY 1896, 57; HANKÓ 340–341.

<sup>17</sup> MÜLLER 1857, 11, 72; S-SW I, 820.

<sup>18</sup> The mountain's German name appears in the First Military Survey as *Satelburg*, while the Second and Third Military Survey use the name *Sattelberg*. The Second and Third Military Survey call it *Signioru* in Romanian and its Hungarian equivalent in the 1941 Military Survey of Hungary is *Nyergeshegy*.

<sup>19</sup> T. ERCSEI 1836, 103.

<sup>20</sup> FERENCZI–PETICĂ 1983, 119.



## THE FIND

The small finds from the fortress's territory can be divided into two groups. One is represented by different kinds of metal objects, the other by the counterfeit coins.

### Metal finds

Most of the small finds coming from the fortress's territory represent types that were in use for a longer period, their more precise dating is therefore out of our reach for want of further, methodical, archeologically appraisable research. Some of the finds may as well date from later than our epoch's upper time limit, the late Middle Ages and might come from the early modern era. The find's dating is helped most by the coins, by means of which we recommend in most cases the 14–15<sup>th</sup> century.

Most of the small finds are related to arms and harnesses, but there are some household and agricultural items as well. There are also a few objects that are part of the fortress's architecture. There are few Transylvanian parallels for the poorly kept, deformed tanged pyramid-shaped, long-edged narrow arrowhead. Its closest analogies come from the Codlea (Hu: Fekete-halom) fortress<sup>21</sup> and the Porumbenii Mari (Hu: Nagyalambfalva) fortification,<sup>22</sup> both dated to the 13–14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup> The heavily corroded socketed object, constantly narrowing and ending in a pointed edge is more likely a puncheon than an arrowhead.<sup>24</sup> The safely kept battle knife case stiffener is also part of the weapons' group. Its closest

parallel is known from Bistra Mureşului (Hu: Dédabisztra) fortress,<sup>25</sup> but similar pieces have turned up from other Transylvanian fortresses as well.<sup>26</sup> Harnesses are represented by three fragments of snaffle bit, classifiable as simple, link-belt, probably asymmetrical curbs. Their formal characteristics make it hard to date them, similar pieces have been found in different areas of Transylvania all along the Middle Ages.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, without knowledge of their finding's circumstances, the buckles are impossible not only to date but also to determine their accurate function. They can be traces of everyday clothing, but could also be part of harnesses or horse equipment.<sup>28</sup>

Objects of the fortress's equipment are the keyhole protection disc coming from either the door or a cabinet, the spike fragment, as well as the crooked metal disc, used probably for hanging. Kitchenware are represented by two knives with arched back, their parallels of form are known from Cristur (Hu: Keresztúr) seat.<sup>29</sup> A partially kept grass-hook may allude to works within the fortress or agricultural activity in its surroundings.<sup>30</sup>

### Coins

The monetary material belonging to one find consists of seven coins and plays a major role in dating the metal objects. The coins come exclusively from Sigismund of Luxembourg's era and are counterfeit copies of his *quartings* from the 1430–1437 period.

<sup>21</sup> COSTEA 1968, 81 (fig. 2/6).

<sup>22</sup> SÓFALVI 2017, 126 (53. kép 7), 411.

<sup>23</sup> Although the crossbow arrowheads' seize and weight is generally bigger and their most common type is the socketed one, it cannot be excluded solely by typology and weight criteria that similar items were used for crossbows as well.

<sup>24</sup> A smaller, but formally similar item has been published by Elek Benkő from Cristuru Secuiesc: BENKŐ ET AL. 1997, 116, 120 (35. kép 2).

<sup>25</sup> GYÖRFI 2015, 128.

<sup>26</sup> All these summed up: RUSU 2008, 88–95.

<sup>27</sup> Their more reliably dated parallels from the Árpád-era are known from Szeklerland: BENKŐ 2016, 158, 162. Later copies (usually from disturbed or difficultly datable contexts) have been published from several places, we shall only point out a few better dated copies: Cechesti (BENKŐ 1992, 59, 79. t. 8), Cristuru Secuiesc (BENKŐ–SZÉKELY 2008, 154, 46. kép 9), Dăbâca (IAMBOR 1984, 198, Pl. III/6).

<sup>28</sup> Based on their seize we consider the latter option more likely.

<sup>29</sup> BENKŐ–SZÉKELY 2008, 152 (44. kép 2–3).

<sup>30</sup> Closer parallels from Szeklerland dating from the Late Middle Ages have been published by: BENKŐ 1992, 164–166 (79. t. 10–11), BENKŐ–SZÉKELY 2008, 152 (45. kép 5).



Small silver coins were carriers of internal monetary traffic in the time of Sigismund. As a consequence of the 1430 monetary reform, two types of silver coins were released, the larger denarius, called *moneta maior*, and the *quarting*, equivalent of a quarter denarius.<sup>31</sup> According to Sigismund's Bratislava decree the quarting was made of silver of 2 lot (125 ‰) and 400 pieces were worth 1 golden forint. However, this rate was impossible to hold and Sigismund's decree dating from 1432 changed it to 1000 pieces of quartings for one golden forint.<sup>32</sup> Due to the huge inflation, by 1435 a golden forint was already the equivalent of 6000 quartings.<sup>33</sup> Because of the low silver content and the high rate of copper, quartings soon turned brown and seemed like copper coins. Their value kept decreasing and they soon

shared the fate of former inflation small change.<sup>34</sup> The counterfeit coins from Sânişoare are made of copper, and they are of poor quality. On the obverse of the CNH II. 129 type quarting (1/4 denarius) copies there is a double cross, on their reverse, one can see a deformed crown. On the double cross's side on the obverse, there are undistinguishable mint mark copies. Based on the mint mark copies, six of the seven coins were made on different coin die. The counterfeiters used as raw material sheets previously cut out from copper plates. The raw material's poor quality, as well as the lack of technical knowledge led to cleavage on the coins' sides. On two pieces however, clipping was also used (Pl. II/4, 6). The coins weigh from 0,24 g to 0,40 g and are below the ideal average weight of the quarting, established by A. Pohl at 0,48g.<sup>35</sup>

## COUNTERFEITING

Counterfeiting meant an ever growing problem in the late Middle Ages' Hungary, especially in the time of Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437). In his 1405 decree, Sigismund bound the acceptance of the real royal money, forbade its clipping, the separation of heavy and light coins, as well as their counterfeiting.<sup>36</sup> However, the king's later actions proved his helplessness in beating back the phenomenon. In his decree from 1427 he forbade among others the coining of small silver coins, and ordered the withdrawal of counterfeit small coins (*denarios minores, fill-erios*) by Saint Jacob's Day (July 25<sup>th</sup>). He also prohibited the selection of coins and the export of precious metals.<sup>37</sup> It was probably during this year that the Transylvanian mint chamber moved its headquarters from Baia de Arieş (Hu: Offenbánya) to Sibiu (Hu: Nagyszeben).<sup>38</sup> Mintage

was a royal right, but Sigismund bestowed this right upon three noblemen in the hope of a more efficient defense against the Turks. Thus became the Serb despot István Lazarevics the owner of the Baia Mare (Hu: Nagybánya) mint in 1411, Miklós Redwitz, grand master of the Teutonic Order the owner of the Sibiu (Hu: Nagyszeben) mint in 1429 and this is how the Sighişoara (Hu: Segesvár) mint ended up latest in 1432 in the circle of interest of Vlad Dracul, prince of Valachia.<sup>39</sup>

According to A. Pohl, the quartings of small face value (*fyrting*) were issued by at least 14 mints.<sup>40</sup> Based on the mint marks, Transylvanian quartings were issued in Sibiu, Sighişoara, Baia Mare and presumably Lipova (Hu: Lippa).<sup>41</sup> The quarting fell victim to great devaluation in a short time, in 1435 its worth decreased 15 times

<sup>31</sup> GYÖNGYÖSSY 2005, 14.

<sup>32</sup> FEJÉR X.7, 197–198; FEJÉR X.7, 430; POHL 1968, 48.

<sup>33</sup> KOVÁTS 1900, 394; KOVÁTS 1902, 162.

<sup>34</sup> POHL 1968, 48; POHL 1972, 8.

<sup>35</sup> POHL 1968, 49, I. tábla.

<sup>36</sup> CIH I, 224–225; HUSZÁR 1976, 39.

<sup>37</sup> KVOKL I, 164–166; UB IV, 275–277; HUSZÁR 1976, 40.

<sup>38</sup> POHL 1968, 54; HUSZÁR 1995, 9.

<sup>39</sup> GYÖNGYÖSSY 2016b, 342–346.

<sup>40</sup> POHL 1968, 48.

<sup>41</sup> POHL 1982, Tab. 55–59.



compared to the golden forint. Counterfeit copper quartings could have appeared in great quantity in the last period of its existence, when even original pieces contained hardly any silver.

Counterfeiters acted in workshops under the protection of feudal lords starting from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Based on the counterfeit coins in different finds in Hungary, Frigyes Kahler reckons with at least 3 workshops and finds it possible that counterfeiters also worked in the royal mints.<sup>42</sup> Counterfeiting workshops in the service of feudal lords made the grand scale manufacturing and spreading of counterfeit coins possible.

Archeological research has found in Visegrád a multifunctional workshop where Sigismund-era coins were occasionally counterfeited.<sup>43</sup> Traces which indicate money counterfeiting for the Sigismund period from Transylvania are known from Léta castle in County Cluj (Hu: Kolozs).<sup>44</sup>

The counterfeit coins found in Sânișoare may as well be the products of a Transylvanian workshop. No other traces of counterfeiting or of a local workshop turned up with the coins found in *Szalonnávár*. The multitude of mint mark copies indicates the use of several coin die and a more organized action of counterfeiting.

## SUMMARY

The small metal finds and counterfeit coins found by metal detectors in Sânișoare confirm the existence of a fortress named *Szalonnávár* ever since the 18<sup>th</sup> century that had not been mentioned by contemporary written sources. The counterfeit Sigismund-era small coins have meant an important handhold in the dating of the find. Quartings were officially released between 1430 and 1437, therefore our counterfeit coins could not have been manufactured after 1437. Most

of the small metal objects had been used for a long time, therefore we propose their dating to the 14–15<sup>th</sup> century. By means of the find, identification of a so far unknown fortress of the Losoncis, one of Transylvania's important aristocratic families with several estates in the area has become possible. Only a methodical archeological research can offer more specific information on the fortress and the find from its premises.

## CATALOGUE

1. Snaffle bit fragment. The mouthpiece and the belonging hook of the jointed axis snaffle have been preserved. Dimensions: 12 cm, mouthpiece: 8.8 cm, snaffle-rein hook: 4.5 x 4.3 cm. I. No: 12027 (Pl. I/1)

2. Snaffle bit fragment. The mouthpiece and the belonging hook of the jointed axis snaffle have been preserved. Dimensions: 9.7 cm, mouthpiece: 6.6 cm, snaffle-rein hook: 4.3 x 4.3 cm. I. No: 12028 (Pl. I/2)

3. Snaffle bit fragment. The mouthpiece and the belonging hook of the jointed axis snaffle have been preserved. Dimensions: 11 cm,

mouthpiece: 7.6 cm, snaffle-rein hook: 4.4 x 4.3 cm. I. No: 12029 (Pl. I/3)

4. D shaped buckle. Its needle, bound to its ancient, narrower frame is missing. Dimensions: 4.9 x 4.1. I. No: 12030 (Pl. I/4)

5. Circle shaped buckle. The length of the needle, bound to the frame of an average 0.4 cm width, narrowing towards the edges, is of 4 cm. Dimensions: 4.3 x 4.2 cm. I. No: 12031 (Pl. I/5)

6. Socketed arrowhead. Dimensions: 6.7 x 0.8 cm. I. No: 12032 (Pl. I/6)

7. Piked arrowhead. Its diamond shaped point is damaged, its spike is bent. Dimensions: 7 x 0.5

<sup>42</sup> KAHLER 1983, 79–80; GYÖNGYÖSSY 2016a, 30.

<sup>43</sup> VARGA 2015, 61,70; VARGA-NAGY 2017, 128.

<sup>44</sup> GYULAI ET AL. 1983, 521–522.



cm. I. No: 12033 (Pl. I/7)

8. Crooked iron disc. Dimension: 4.5 x 3.5 cm. I. No: 12034 (Pl. I/8)

9. Keyhole disc. Poorly preserved, polygon shaped, fragmentary disc. Dimensions: 8.2 x 3.3. I. no: 12035 (Pl. I/9)

10. Small iron rod with circular transection, narrowing towards the end. Probably a cotter-plate or spike fragment. Dimensions: 7 x 0.7 cm. I. No: 12036 (Pl. I/10)

11. String of an unidentified object. Dimensions: 4.5 x 2.1 cm. I. no: 12037 (Pl. I/11)

12. Fragment of a grass hook. Probably part of the short necked hook's blade, arched towards the lower end. Dimensions: 13.2 x 1.4 cm. I. No: 12038 (Pl. I/12)

13. Iron knife. The corroded blade narrows towards the end. Its tip and tang are aligned. The tang is narrower than the blade and its sides are parallel. Dimension: 18 x 2 cm. I. No: 12039 (Pl. II/1)

14. Iron knife. The tang is narrower than the blade. The spine is arched towards the end. Dimension: 18 x 1.3 cm. I. No: 12040 (Pl. II/2)

15. Knife case stiffener. Corroded on its lower side, the bolt linking the iron discs above the rectangular ear has been preserved. Dimension: 19.5 x 1.1 cm. I. No: 12041 (Pl. II/3)

16. Counterfeit copper quarring (1/4 denarius), 11.30 x 11.65 mm, 0.30 g, axis 2. Double cross on its obverse, with unidentifiable mint marks on the left and right. On the reverse an open crown. Clipped on the margins. I. No: 12042 (Pl. II/4).

CNH II 129; Huszár 586; Pohl 124; Unger 456.

17. Counterfeit copper quarring (1/4 denarius), 11.72 x 14.57 mm, 0.32 g, axis 2. Partly

visible double cross on the obverse, unidentifiable mint mark on the left, blurred mint mark on the right. On the reverse an open crown. I. No: 12043 (Pl. II/5)

CNH II 129; Huszár 586; Pohl 124; Unger 456.

18. Counterfeit copper quarring (1/4 denarius), 14.11 x 14.22 mm, 0.39 g, axis 11. Double cross on the obverse, blurred mint marks on the left and right. On the reverse a deformed open crown. Clipped on the margins. I. No: 12044 (Pl. II/6)

CNH II 129; Huszár 586; Pohl 124; Unger 456.

19. Counterfeit copper quarring (1/4 denarius), 13.13 x 14.05 mm, 0.36 g, axis 12. On the obverse a blurred double cross. On the reverse misplaced open crown. I. No: 12045 (Pl. II/7)

CNH II 129; Huszár 586; Pohl 124; Unger 456.

20. Counterfeit copper quarring (1/4 denarius), 12.72 x 13.51 mm, 0.39 g, axis 2. Partially visible, misplaced double cross on the obverse, on the right C? mint mark. On the reverse a blurred open crown. I. No: 12046 (Pl. II/8)

CNH II 129; Huszár 586; Pohl 124; Unger 456.

21. Counterfeit copper quarring (1/4 denarius), 12.84 x 13.44 mm, 0.24 g, axis 3. Partially visible double cross on the obverse with a mint mark containing the letter A on the right and left. The mint mark is represented inversely on the right side. I. No: 12047 (Pl. II/9)

CNH II 129; Huszár 586; Pohl 124; Unger 456.

22. Counterfeit copper quarring (1/4 denarius), 12.86 x 13.09 mm, 0.40 g, axis ?. Partially visible, misplaced double cross on the obverse, with unknown mint marks on the left and right. Unidentifiable shape on the reverse. I. No: 12048 (Pl. II/10)

CNH II 129; Huszár 586; Pohl 124; Unger 456.

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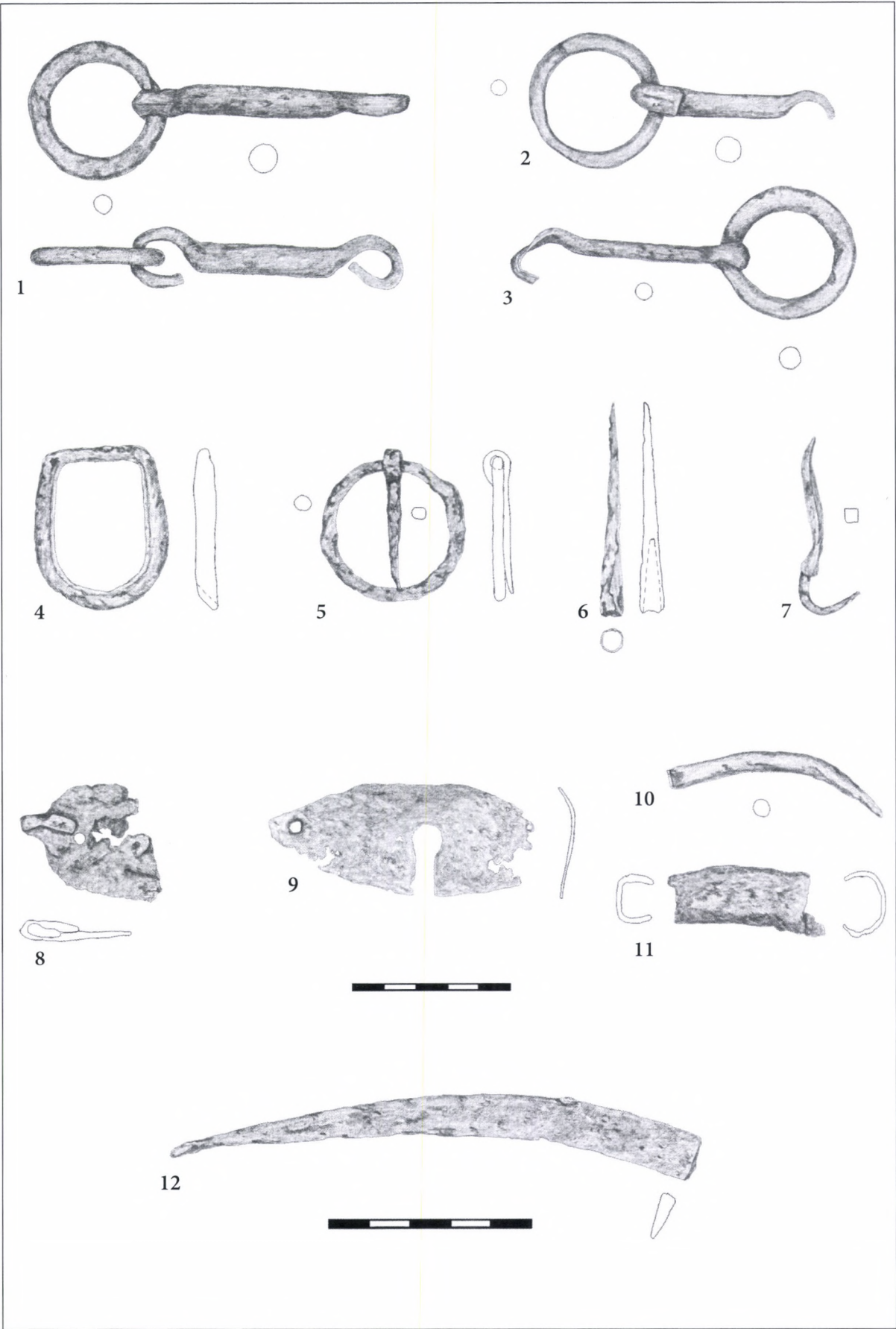


Plate I. Iron finds from the Sânișoare/Nyergeshegy-Szalonnávár site (1-12).



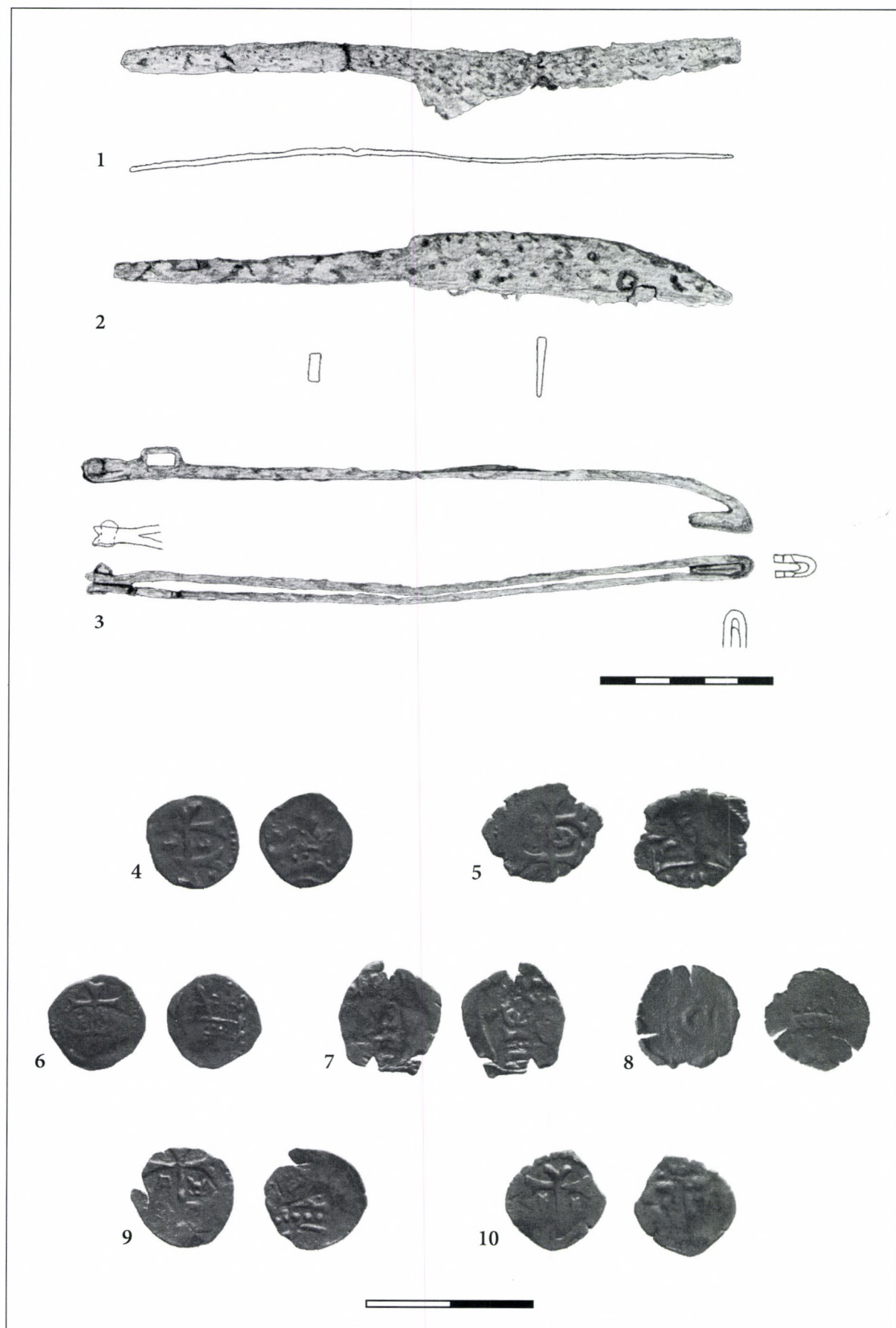


Plate II. Iron finds (1-3) and counterfeit Sigismund-era coins (4-10) from the Sânișoare/Nyergeshegy-Szalonnávr site.

# A CSÍKI-MEDENCE KÖZÉPKORI KÖRNYEZETI VISZONYAIRÓL

BOTÁR István\*

*The Ciuc-basin is known as one of the coldest regions of the country, where the forests are mainly formed of pines and this vision is regularly projected to the Medieval Times. Archaeological data does not confirm this presumption, on 3–15<sup>th</sup> century sites often appear carbonised oak pieces. Oak timber elements can be found also in medieval churches and manors. From the 3–4<sup>th</sup> and 16–17<sup>th</sup> centuries there are several data regarding intensive metallurgy activities which needed a huge amount of hard wood, namely oak and beech. The former oak forests are mentioned in the written sources, their memory is proven by the place names and also by pollen-data of environment history researches. The main conclusions of the paper are: the better climate conditions of the post-roman and medieval periods were more likely with those of central Transylvania and allowed the development of local human communities. The internal low-situated (oak) forests were cleared continuously specially in the 17–18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Once the climate changes of the small ice-age its effects were stronger in the Ciuc-depression due its high altitude and thermic inversion phenomenon. In these conditions the competition between species was won by the pines. The present flora and forest situation of the intra-mountain depressions was formed by the following factors: human interventions (clearing), cooling of the climate (“little ice age”) and competition among the species. The projection of the present environment situations into the historical times could lead to erroneous interpretations.*

**Keywords:** landscape archaeology, settlement, Ciuc-basin, medieval period

**Cuvinte cheie:** arheologia peisajului, așezări, Bazinul Ciucului, ev mediu

**Kulcsszavak:** környezetrégészet, településtörténet, Csíki-medence, középkor

A földrajzi környezet, a klíma, a vegetáció a jelenkor előtt alapvetően meghatározta az emberi élet gazdasági, társadalmi kereteit, minőségét, így a korabeli környezet ismerete, vagy annak rekonstrukciós kísérlete a településtörténeti kutatások megkerülhetetlen feladata. Ez kézenfekvő megközelítés az összefoglaló igényű székhelyföldi történeti, régészeti munkákban azonban szinte teljesen hiányzik. A legtöbb történeti, régészeti, településtörténeti összefoglalás a jelenkori földrajzi viszonyok ismertetésével letudja ezt a kérdést, kimondva-kimondatlanul visszavetíti

az általa kutatott időszakra és általában fel sem merült, hogy a középkori bizonyosan eltérő klimatikus és környezeti viszonyok, legalább részleges feltárását követően, ezek ismeretében vizsgálják a régészeti lelőhelyek és általában a településtörténeti kérdéseket.<sup>1</sup>

A legtöbb szerző nem veszi figyelembe, hogy a környezet nem statikus, történeti időkre visszavetíthető állapot, illetve nem számoltak azzal sem, hogy a középkor századaiban a maitól lényegesen eltérő környezeti és klimatikus viszonyok ismerete számos történeti kérdés és

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<sup>1</sup> BENKŐ 1992, 13–14; REPÁRH 11–17; BENKŐ 2012; SZÉKELYFÖLD I; SÓFALVI 2017.



rekonstrukció esetében szolgál(hat)na magyarázattal. Az alábbiakban arra teszek kísérletet, hogy ezt a kérdést a Csíki-medence középkori településtörténete szempontjából megvizsgáljam.<sup>2</sup>

A köztudatban a Csíki-medence hideg, elzárt, hátrányos mezőgazdasági potenciállal rendelkező területként él, ahol alapvetően rosszabb feltételei vannak az emberi életnek, mint akár a közvetlenül szomszédos, enyhébb klímájú, jobb termőfölddel rendelkező medencékben. Ezt a jelenkori klimatikus viszonyok elég egyértelműen igazolhatják. A Csíki-medencében a települések 650–750 m tengerszint feletti magasságban találhatók, az évi középhőmérséklet 6° körüli, úgy hogy a januári átlag -8/-6°, a júliusi 16-18° körüli, az évi átlagos csapadékmennyiség 600–700 mm.<sup>3</sup>

Ugyanakkor tudott dolog, hogy a térségben ismert őskori kultúrák többsége megjelent Csíkbán is, sőt egyes korszakokból kifejezetten sok lelőhelyet ismerünk, több esetben, szervezett, népes társadalomra utaló erődtípusokkal. Ezt az ellentmondást a Kelet-Erdély vaskorával foglalkozó kutatás az átjárók, legelők és erdők, a nyersanyagforrások létével, illetve a medence hadászati védett elhelyezkedésével látta feloldhatónak.<sup>4</sup> A népvándorlás korában a 4. századi Marosszentanna-Csernyahov kultúra nagy kiterjedésű lelőhelyei szintén demográfiai jelentős népesség megtelepedésére utalnak a 3–4. században.<sup>5</sup> A korabeli lelőhelyeken rendszeresen gyűjthető salaktömbök, kohómaradványok a vasolvasztás kiemelkedő jelentőségére, a vasművesség folyamatosságára utalnak. A kora népvándorlás kori, szélesen elterjedt vasművességnek már önmagában is komoly környezettörténeti vonzata van, tudniillik a vasolvasztás elengedhetetlen kelléke a faszén, amelyet köztudottan lombhullató kemény fákból (túlnyomórészt tölgy és bükk) készítettek és készítenek ma is. Magyarán a 3–4. században (is), illetve részben ezt megelőzően olyan éghajlati

viszonyokkal lehet számolni a Csíki-medencében, amelyek lehetővé tették a tölgy és bükkerdők kialakulását. A feltevést immár konkrét régészeti megfigyelések is alátámasztják. A csíksomlyói Fodor-kerti ásatások során a 4-7. századi objektumokban talált azonosítható famaradványok, faszéntöredékek döntő többsége tölgyfából származik.<sup>6</sup> Ugyanitt a lombhullató erdők mellett ember-alakította kultúrtájra is vannak adatok. Az itt részlegesen feltárt gót településen több, tekintélyes méretű (olykor a nyesési szinttől -250 cm-re leemélyülő!) zsákalakú verem, illetve egy sarló egyértelműen jelzik, hogy a 3-4. században a medence területén intenzív gabonaművelés is folyt.<sup>7</sup> A vasművességgel kapcsolatos leletek közvetett klímátörténeti feltevései nagyszerűen egybevágnak a környezettörténeti irodalomban leírt „római optimummal.” A K. u. 2–3. századra tehető az a felmelegedés, amely például lehetővé tette, hogy a Brit-szigeteken szőlőt termesszenek és bort készítsenek.<sup>8</sup> A kedvezőbb klimatikus viszonyok a keleti germán, gót törzsek demográfiai viszonyaira is hatással lehettek és így közvetve, a katonai potenciál növekedése miatt ez utóbbiak nyugati expanziójában és a birodalom visszahúzódásában is szerepet játszhattak.

A régészet oldaláról nézve tehát nincs nyoma annak, hogy területünk klimatikus, vagy környezeti okok miatt nem, vagy kevésbé lett volna alkalmas megtelepedésre. Jelen ismereteink szerint az első évezredben két mélypontja volt a medence lakottságának. A 4. századot utáni időszakba a korábbi kiterjedt gót (Marosszentanna-Csernyahov kultúra) településhálózatot közel másfélszáz évig nem követte újabb betelepülés, majd a korai szláv népesség 7. századi eltűnése (?) után a 11–12. századig csak szórványos leleteink vannak.

Az 5–6. század fordulójától adatolható szláv infiltráció kapcsán, meglehetősen kevés hiteles adat alapján, környezeti szempontból csak annyit mondhatunk, hogy a medence közepi

<sup>2</sup> BOTÁR 2015.

<sup>3</sup> A jelenkori állapotokról részletesen ELEKES 2016.

<sup>4</sup> CRIȘAN 1989–1993.

<sup>5</sup> BOTÁR 2011.

<sup>6</sup> BOTÁR 2017.

<sup>7</sup> BOTÁR 2012.

<sup>8</sup> RÁCZ 2001, 53–54.



erdőtakaró összetételében a lombhullatók továbbra is jelen voltak, tudniillik a leégett szláv veremházak deszkabélése több esetben is tölgyfa volt.<sup>9</sup> A korábbi intenzív vasművesség a jelek szerint egykori művelőivel együtt eltűnt, a 6–7. századi szláv objektumokból mindeddig nem került elő hasonló mennyiségű vasolvasztással kapcsolatba hozható leletanyag. Megfontolandó ugyanakkor, hogy a korszak nem kellőképpen tisztázott lehűlése<sup>10</sup> nincs-e összefüggésben azzal, hogy a masszív gót települési horizonttal összevethető lakottság évszázadokig nem alakult ki területünkön.

A Csíki-medence 8–10. századának települési viszonyairól gyakorlatilag nincs ismeretünk. Helynévtani adatok alapján általában jelentős, az Árpád-kori magyar megtelepedést megelőző szláv alapnépességet szoktak a keleti medencékben feltételezni,<sup>11</sup> de ez a réteg itt régészetiileg jelenleg nehezen körvonalazható. A tipológiai a korszakba sorolható leletek lelőkörményei teljesen bizonytalanok, hiteles, dokumentált objektumokkal nem rendelkezünk ebből az időszakból. Ilyenek hiányában a Csík kapcsán emlegetett „számos jelentős késő népvándorlás kori lelőhely” és az ezekre alapozott településtörténeti eszmefuttatások<sup>12</sup> még igazolásra váró feltételezések.

Így érkezünk el a 11–12. századhoz, amiktől több lelőhely egybevágo keltezése alapján megindult a medence Árpád-kori betelepülése. A lelőhelyek elhelyezkedése talán az Olt ártere és a mellékpatakok közti, megtelepedésre művelésre alkalmas területek lehetséges kiterjedését rajzolja ki. A medence középső részein a tölgy továbbra is jelen volt, miként azt néhány korabeli objektumok szenült tölgymaradványai mutatják. Ezek száma azonban ma még igen csekély. Ennek ellenére gabonatermesztésre már viszonylag korán, a 12. századtól vannak egyértelmű régészeti adataink. Csíkszentkirályon nem csak ekepapucst, sarlót, de szenült

gabonamaradványokat is találtak egy 2003-as feltáráson Árpád-kori edények társaságában.<sup>13</sup> A rendelkezésre álló adatok alapján az Árpád-kor végére a településhálózat teljesen kitöltötte a medencét, ami nyilván a környezet erőteljes átalakítását hozta magával.

A középkor későbbi századaiban az újabb és nagyobbá váló települések környezetében nyilván egyre nagyobb felületeken irtották az erdőt, törték fel a földeket és folyt mezőgazdasági művelés, legeltetés. E folyamat részleteit azonban régészeti adatok nemigen tudják megvilágítani. Kozmáson a Becz-kúria telkén feltárt szemétdörmében halpikkely és rákolló is előkerült, egyértelmű jeleként a közeli árterek „gyümölcsői” hasznosításának.

Csíkszentkirályon a falkutatás során az Árpád-kori hajófalban nyírfa állvány csomját találtuk meg, ami minden bizonnyal a közeli ligetes, mocsaras ártérből kerülhetett ide. Szintén nyírfából készült építési állványt használtak a csíkkarcfalvi plébániatemplom 15. századi gótikus szentélyének építésekor. Minden bizonnyal a csíki 13–15. századi tölgyerdőkből származnak azok a gerendák is, melyeket a csíkmenasági és csíkkarcfalvi templomok korai periódusaihoz tartozó hajók déli bejáratai fölött találtunk, de ezekre utalhat a csíkrákosi hajó nyugati falában talált (egykori párkánymagasságot jelző sárgerenda?) vízszintes tölgygerenda is. A csíki harangtornyokban rendre 17. századi tölgy elemek kerülnek elő.<sup>14</sup> Korabeli tölgy elemeket azonosítottunk, kelteztünk a csíkszentkirályi Bors- és Nagy-kúriák 17. századi pincéiben is.<sup>15</sup> Térségünkben nincs tutajozható folyószakasz, így a csíki műemlékek környezetében azonosított tölgygerendák csakis helyi erdőkből származhatnak. A töredékes régészeti adatok tehát a maitól jelentősen eltérő természeti környezetet sejtetnek, de önmagukban közel sem elégségesek ahhoz, hogy e kérdésben tisztán láthassunk.

A továbblépés egyik legígéretesebb módja a

<sup>9</sup> BOTÁR 2017.

<sup>10</sup> VADAS–RÁCZ 2010, 44–48.

<sup>11</sup> Erről legutóbb HEGYI 2016.

<sup>12</sup> BENKŐ 2016, 158–159.

<sup>13</sup> Ld. CAVRUK 2003.

<sup>14</sup> BOTÁR–GRYNAEUS–TÓTH 2006.

<sup>15</sup> Grynaeus András, illetve Tóth Boglárka kéziratoss dendrokronológiai kutatási jelentései.



természettudományos módszerek és források használata lehet. A különböző természettudományos vizsgálatoknak a jövőben nagy szerepe lesz e kérdések vizsgálatában, de ilyenek egyelőre nem részei a régészeti kutatásnak. Szerencsénkre más tudományágak eredményei gyakran használhatók e vonatkozásban is.

Az egykori erdők alatt kialakuló és adott fajok társulásaira jellemző gyeprétegek olykor évszázadokig tanúskodnak az egykor felettük álló erdők összetételéről. A Csíkszentdomokos és Csíkszenttamás között álló, ma már jórészt teljesen fátlan Garadoson Bálint Laura biológus végzett elemzéseket, melyek nyomán arra jutott, hogy itt egykori vegyes összetételű lombhullató erdőkre utaló gyepek azonosíthatók.<sup>16</sup>

Az időjárás történeti változásaival foglalkozó kutatásokból már régóta tudjuk, hogy Európa és a Kárpát-medence klímája a történelem folyamán többször változott. Az 5/8. és a 13. század eleje között úgynevezett kis optimummal számolnak, amikor melegebb és csapadékosabb éghajlati viszonyok uralkodtak és ennek is tulajdonítják a települési és mezőgazdasági expanziót.<sup>17</sup> Sajnos a közelmúltig e tekintetben nem nagyon támaszkodhattunk helyi adatokon nyugvó természettudományos rekonstrukciókra.

A viszonylag közeli bukovinai pollenvizsgálatok (a Dorna patak völgyéből) már korábban egyértelműen bizonyították, hogy eme klimatikus változásnak a Keleti-Kárpátok növénytakarójára is jelentős hatása volt.<sup>18</sup> Aligha tévedünk, ha ezek tanulságait a Csíki-medencére is elfogadjuk. Eszerint a jégkorszak utáni időkben kimutatható volt egy törpefenyő időszak hideg, száraz, szeles klímával (I.). Ezt erdeifenyő-lucfenyő korszak követte száraz, meleg klímával, amikor a fenyvesekben mogyoró és tölgy is jelentkezett (II.). Ezután meleg, nedves időszak következett lucfenyő-, tölgy-, mogyoró- vegyes erdőkkel (III.), majd lehűlés állt be, az időjárás szárazzá, hideggé vált. Az időszak jellemző növényei a lucfenyő és gyertyán voltak (IV.). Az ötödik, napjainkig

tartó időszak nedves hideg klímájának tartható, ez a luc-bükk-jegenyefenyő időszaka. Az idézett műből nem derül ki, hogy ezek a klimatikus szakaszok milyen kronológiai határok közé tehetők és az egyes időszakok milyen hosszúak lehettek. Korábban az egyéb idevágó adatok alapján azt feltételeztem, hogy a Pop-féle III. vagy IV. szakaszra eshetett az Árpád-kor.

Újabban azonban sokkal közelebbi lelőhelyen, Alcsík déli határán a Szent Anna-tó iszaprétegeiből gyűjtött interdiszciplináris kutatások során végeztek hasonló elemzéseket, de ez esetben az adatsorok mellé kalibrált C14-es adatok segítik a keltezéseket.<sup>19</sup> Nem kell külön hangsúlyoznunk, hogy milyen nagy jelentősége van ezeknek a kutatásoknak a térség környezettörténeti megítélésében. Noha a tó magasán fekvő „zárt” kráter-medencéjének elhelyezkedése, jellege miatt az itteni megfigyelések elsősorban a tó közvetlen környezetére adnak hiteles adatokat (a tó szintje 950 m, míg a környező kráterperem 120-350 m-rel magasabban helyezkedik el), az itteni vegetáció változására utaló adatok bizonyos mértékben érvényesek a Csíki-medence alacsonyabban fekvő központi területeire nézve is (a legközelebbi középkori települések 650 m magasán terülnek el). Az értékeléskor azt is figyelembe kell venni, hogy a tó éppen azon a sávon helyezkedik el, ahol a jelenkorban (!) a fenyő és lombhullató erdők határa húzódik. Bizonytalanságot okoz az is, hogy míg az első tanulmányban a radiokarbon elemzésre alapozott keltezési adatokat napjainkig hasznosították, a második dolgozatban a legfiatalabb elmzett korszakként a 1000-760 kalibrált BP adatokat ismertették, ami nagyjából az Árpád-korral azonosítható (leszámítva a 13. század végét).

E kutatások területünket és korszakunkat is érintő legfontosabb eredménye, hogy az ezredforduló körüli időszakban (1050-900 cal yr BP) egyértelmű antropogén beavatkozásra utaló hatás nyomait rögzítették. Ekkor a tó környezetében visszaszorult a bükk, helyén lucfenyő

<sup>16</sup> BÁLINT 2004. Az erdőket túlélő aljnövényzet szerepére a régi erdőtakaró rekonstrukciója kapcsán már korábban figyelemztették. A Gyergyószentmiklós melletti Erős Csere (!) oldalán olyan cserjéket azonosítottak, melyek tölgyesekhez tartozhattak, ld. TARISZNYÁS 1982, 47.

<sup>17</sup> DRASKÓCZY 1986, 312; RÁCZ 1993, 68-72.

<sup>18</sup> POP 1929, idézi NYÁRÁDI 1929, 587.

<sup>19</sup> MAGYARI ET AL. 2006; MAGYARI ET AL. 2009.



(*Picea abies*) erdő alakult ki, amit a talaj és a víz savasodása követett. Emberi beavatkozás nélkül a tó környékének domináns növénye a bükk lenne. A tó környezetében a jelenkorig ki lehetett mutatni például a tölgy jelenlétét, amely százalékosan azonos, esetenként jelentősebb arányban jelentkezett a különböző fenyőkhöz képest. Az ezredforduló környékén azonban a tölgypollen mennyiségének csökkenése alapján masszív visszaszorulás következett be, majd a 13–14. század között újra folyamatosan nőtt a tölgyállomány a környéken, míg elérte az előző értéket. E szakasz talán megfeleltethető a fent jelzett középkori optimummal. Ezt követően kisebb ingadozásokkal ugyan, de folyamatosan csökken a tölgypollen/tölgyerdők aránya. 1600-tól növekszik a lucfenyő aránya (2006/261), ami viszont talán a kis jégkorszak itteni beköszöntét jelzheti. Egy részletesebb táblázatban (2006/272) a tó környezetében az erdőirtást BP 800, azaz a 12–13. század fordulójára kelteznek.

Ebből számunkra három fontos következtetés adódik. Egyrészt azt mutatja, hogy az ezredfordulót követően a környéken hirtelen intenzív emberi jelenlét és ezzel együtt a keményfákra irányuló irtás igazolható. A tó közvetlen közelében nincsenek, nem ismerünk ebből a korszakból településeket. A változások aligha lehetnek függetlenek a közelben, mindössze 2,4 km-re álló hatalmas tusnádi vártetei vár körüli eseményektől. A vár területének nem túl nagyszámú eddigi leletei alapján (12–)13. századi építést feltételeztem, ami nincs teljes összhangban a fenti eredményekkel. Kérdés, hogy netán a C14-es keltezés pontatlan, korai-e kissé (ez utóbbira utalhat, hogy a második mérésorozathoz már csak a poznáni labor eredményeit vették figyelembe). Amennyiben azonban a 2006/272-es táblázat tükrözi jobban a valóságot, azaz egy BP 800-tól induló irtást, majd a tó környezetében a savasodás megnövekedését feltételezhetünk, akkor az egyértelműen a vár 13. század eleji építésével, lakottságával, illetve a környezetében tartott állatállománnyal függhet össze.

Másrészt immár természettudományos adatok igazolják, hogy a fenyők térhódítása a talaj savtartalmának olyan mértékű megváltozásával jár, ami után az erre érzékenyebb lombhullató fajok (bükk, tölgy) ugyanarra a területre már nehezen, vagy nem tudnak visszatérni.

A fenti folyamatokat támasztják alá újabb kutatások is a Hargitán található két egykori vulkáni kráter üledékéből, a Lucsból és a Mohosból vett minták, bár az időrend kissé eltérő. A kutatócsoport szerint intenzívebb emberi jelenletre, beavatkozásra utaló nyomok BP 1200 körülől regisztrálhatók (8. század közepe), míg a BP 500-tól, azaz a 15. század közepe táján erőteljesen visszaszorul a korábbi erdőtakaró (tölgy, bükk, lucfenyő, nyír) és helyüket az erdei fenyő veszi át.<sup>20</sup>

A klímátörténeti vizsgálatok fontos forrásbázisai lehetnek a csíkszeredai dendrokronológiai laboratórium által a műemlékes dendrokronológiai kutatások során begyűjtött 12–19. századi tölgy és fenyő (luc- és jegenyefenyő) évgyűrű adatsorok, kronológiák, amelyek ilyen jellegű feldolgozása még nem történt meg.<sup>21</sup> A kronológiák érvényességi területei egész Erdélyt lefedik, a Csíki-medence esetében azonban csak a 16. századig nyúlnak vissza. Középtávon azonban szándékunkban áll, hogy kellő támogatás esetén, más műhelyekkel is együttműködve, a dendrokronológiai adatbázis klímátörténeti szempontú feldolgozását is elindítsuk.

A továbblépés másik módja a régészeti objektumokból származó földminták pollenanalízise és radiokarbon keltezése lehetne. Ez azonban túlmutat a helyi múzeum anyagi lehetőségein, míg a környezettörténeti, jelenleg is futó kutatások nem használják ezt a forráscsoportot vagy közömbösek az együttműködések iránt.

Visszatérve a jelenkori „zord körülményekre”, egyre több adatunk van arra vonatkozóan, hogy ez a mai állapotok alapján visszavetített kép a korábbi századok felé haladva nem hiteles. Ha a középkori lelőhelyeket, leleteket, adatokat nem a jelenkori környezetben kívánjuk értékelni,

<sup>20</sup> TANȚĂU ET AL. 2014, 150. Meglepő, hogy a 3–4. század jelentős és régészetileg is jól megfoghatóan megugró, ráadásul intenzív vasművességet folytató népességi expanciónak nincs értékelhető hatása, ugyanakkor a jóval kevésbé dokumentált késő népvándorlás kori településeknek meg van.

<sup>21</sup> További információk és letölthető publikációk a dendrolab.ro honlapon.



kénytelenek leszünk sorba venni azokat az információkat, amelyek segíthetnek a középkori környezet rekonstrukciójában. Ehhez azonban középkori írott forrásokat gyakorlatilag nem használhatunk, a területre vonatkozó írott adatok jószerével csak a 16. századtól csordogálnak. A 17–18. századig visszanyúló források viszont sokkal színesebb környezetet festenek, mint ahogy az ma az intenzív mezőgazdaság, a mocsarak lecsapolásai, a vízszabályozások és erdőirtások után látható. Aligha lehet kérdés, hogy időben visszafelé haladva egyre kevesebb antropogén hatással kell számolni, így noha rekonstrukciónk nem lehet teljes, a középkor esetében több erdővel, nagyobb mocsarakkal, és kevesebb emberi beavatkozással számolhatunk, mint ahogy azt a 17–19. századi forrásokban, helynevekben tapasztaljuk. A szembetűnő változáshoz elég a katonai térképek adatait összevetni a jelenkori állapotokkal.<sup>22</sup> Adataink legtöbbször már a végbement változást dokumentálják, az alább idézendő irtás, orotás, aszalás helynevek már az erdők visszaszorítása nyomán létrejött helynévi réteg nyomai.<sup>23</sup> Pesty Frigyes kérdőívein számtalan erdőirtásra vonatkozó adatot találunk a csíki falvak esetében: majd minden településen leírják, hogy a vész, aratás, irtás, aszalvány, égés stb. összetételű helynevekkel jelölt területeken nemrég még erdő állt.<sup>24</sup>

Csík középkori földrajzi környezetének rekonstrukciója tehát a közismerten szegényes és kései jellegű forrásadottságok ellenére sem lehetetlen feladat. A környezet egyik legfontosabb eleme a domborzat természetesen gyakorlatilag érintetlen maradt, és ugyanez, legalábbis a 19. századig a vízrajzi viszonyokról is állítható, így a 18. század végi I. katonai felmérés e vonatkozásban kitűnően hasznosítható. Természetesen a különböző források alapján rekonstruált kép főként a késő középkort illetően bízhat a hitelesség reményében és ott sem tekinthető részletesnek, ám a fő tendenciák megbízhatóan jelezhetők. A jelenből a későközépkorig, koraujkorig

visszanyúló rekonstrukció alapján a fontosabb környezeti folyamatok középkori előzményei is sejthetők. Kísérletünket ezt követően a lelőhelyek topográfiai vizsgálata segítségével némileg ellenőrizni is tudjuk majd.

A legkorábbi csíki források a 14. századi pápai tizedlisták és templomos településekre irányuló ebben a vonatkozásban csak a legalapvetőbb megállapításokat teszi lehetővé. Maga a Csík helynév, már amennyiben a több magyarázat közül a csíkhalra vonatkozó magyarázat lehetett a névadás motivációja, az Olt ártereiben gyakori halfajra és annak halászatára (?) utalhat. A templomcímes helynevek mellett néhány további, leíró jellegű helynév csak csekély bepillantást enged a korabeli környezeti viszonyokba. A Rákos falunév nyilván a Rákos-patakról vette nevét, így aligha tévedünk, ha arra gondolunk, hogy a név kialakulásakor, de legkésőbb a 14. század elején a patak rákokban bővelkedhetett. A Tarkő helynév azt sejteti, hogy a karcfalvi templomdomb már akkor csupasz, irtott szikla lehetett. Somlyó esetében, a név etimológiájától függően arra gondolhatunk, hogy a névadó hegyen gyakori volt a som, vagy (az irtás miatt!?) a domboldal suvadásos, omlásos lehetett.<sup>25</sup>

Az oklevéltárak környezetre vonatkoztatható adatai meglehetősen szegényesek és kései. Kivételesnek tarthatjuk tehát, hogy például Karcfalva esetében arra találunk utalást, hogy a falun átfolyó Olton, pontosabban az Oltból kivezetett, ásott vízfolyások mellett már a középkor végén több malom létesült, illetve hogy ezek között különféle vízterelők stb. létesültek.<sup>26</sup> Ez alapján talán nem eretnokség lehetségesnek tartani, hogy a 17–18. századi térképes és írott forrásokban feltűnő malomhelyek egy része középkori eredetű lehetett.

Felcsíkon az erdők egyik legnagyobb „ellen-sége” a 16. század közepétől adatolt madarasi vashámor volt. A fejedelmi birtokban álló, több falu népét foglalkoztató, nagy intenzitással működtetett hámor fa- és faszén-szükségleteinek

<sup>22</sup> A Csíki-medence erdőhatárának visszaszorulásához ld. JÁNOSI 2004.

<sup>23</sup> BOTÁR 2008.

<sup>24</sup> PESTY 2013.

<sup>25</sup> FNESZ II, 483.

<sup>26</sup> SZO VIII, 167–169.



kielégítésére nagyobb famennyiség volt szükséges, mint korábban. Az eddigi igényeket messze meghaladó új irtások alighanem jelentősen felgyorsították a középkor végét túlélő felcsíki erdők visszaszorulását. Jellemző, hogy ezzel a kérdéssel országgyűlési szinten foglalkoztak: 1667-ben megújították (!) azt a cikkelyt mely szerint: *amely székely atyánkfiai Csikban eddig szabadosan fát vágattathattanak a hámorhoz, ennek utána is azon szabadságban tartassanak, úgy mint ennek előtte...* 1677-ben egy inventárium adatai szerint a vashámornál már májusra 597 öl abban az évben kivágott fa állt rendelkezésre, míg egy 1686-os elszámolásból az is kiderül, hogy az adott évben, áprilistól novemberig 980 öl fát égettek el. Egy öl fáért 20 denárt fizettek. A hámor faszén szükségletét külön célra beosztott emberek végezték, de gyakran vásároltak faszenet külső beszállítóktól is. 1686-ban 32 hetet számoltak el a szénégetőknek.<sup>27</sup> A kohókhoz, az izzításhoz, illetve a faszén előállításához nyilván a nagyobb fűtőértékű bükkfát és tölgyfát használták elsősorban. Ezt vagy ehhez hasonló mennyiséget kell beszoroznunk a hámor működésének idejével, így megbecsülhetjük a felhasznált fa mennyiségét. A hámor a 16. század közepétől a 17. század végéig élte fénykorát, azaz közel másfélszáz esztendeig irtották intenzíven a lombhullató erdőket a felcsíki vashámor érdekében (135000 öl fa). A hámor-nak tehát jelentős szerepe lehetett abban, hogy a korábbi lombhullató erdők eltűntek, illetve hogy a medence belsejében kialakultak az úgynevezett Nagymezők.

A forrásokban viszonylag ritkán találunk adatot a környezeti viszonyokra. 1558-ban a császárnak egy-egy véka búzát és árpát szedtek be adóba, vélhetően a török igények kielégítésére.<sup>28</sup> Szintén a század közepén egy kozmási hatalmaskodás kapcsán is panaszkodtak, hogy *bwzaiat kalongian el vitette*.<sup>29</sup> 1595-ben írták,

hogy Csíkból a fejedelem számára „Az minemű buzat, zabott, es egieb akarmjfele terheket Chýkbol mj számunkera zoktak kj zallýtani...” azt ne a Segesvár-székiekkel szállíttassák, „hanem az minemeö zokasok az eleött uolt, ez utanis ahoz tarchiak magokat.”<sup>30</sup> A 16. században tehát a csíki fejedelmi birtokokról rendszeresen szállítottak egyebek mellett búzát is a fejedelmi udvarba. A 17. század közepi végrendeletekben szintén szerepel csíki búza.<sup>31</sup>

Ez különösen annak a fényében fontos adalék, hogy a későbbiekben a helytörténeti munkák arról számolnak be, hogy a 19. században Csík gabona- és gyümölcsszükségleteit a szomszédos székekből fedezte.<sup>32</sup> Így volt ez a 18. században is, amikor Benkő József az akkori állapotokra utalva írta: „igásállatjuk van elegendő, úgyszintén nyájuk is, amelyekből ki kell kerekedjék a kellő pénzalap mind az élelemre és megélhetésre, mind az adó kifizetésére.” Az állandó gabonahiány miatt rendszeresen kijártak aratás idején Háromszékre, Barcaságba dolgozni, vagy a Székelyföld teljes területét, ill. Szászföldet is bejárják gabona keresése és megvásárlása végett. A gyümölcsöket szintén a szomszédos vidékekről viszik be.<sup>33</sup>

Magyarán úgy tűnik, a 16. századot követően drasztikus változások álltak be, amit aligha írhatunk a népességnövekedés számlájára. Különösen annak a fényében, hogy a 17–18. században iszonyatos méretű népességcsökkenést (-40%!) okozó hadi események, illetve járványok tizedelték a környéket.<sup>34</sup>

A környezeti rekonstrukció másik fontos forrása a történeti és jelenkori helynévanyag. Az egykori növénytakaróra utaló leíró helynevek ugyanis gyakran akkor is használatban maradnak, amikor a névadás motivációjául szolgáló növényzet már lényeges változásokon esett át, esetenként teljes eltűnt. A helynevek legkevésbé stabil elemei a külterületi dűlőnevek. Ezek

<sup>27</sup> PATAKI 1971, 24.

<sup>28</sup> SZÉKELY KRÓNIKA 641.

<sup>29</sup> SzO II, 180.

<sup>30</sup> SzO IV, 133–134.

<sup>31</sup> ERDTEST III, 173.

<sup>32</sup> BENKŐ 1853, 41–42.

<sup>33</sup> BENKŐ 1778, 203–207.

<sup>34</sup> SZŐCS 1995, 2010, 353; GARDA 1999, 84–85; PÁL-ANTAL 2009, 8–9.



ugyanis a birtokviszonyok, illetve a művelés és egyéb tényezők megváltozása esetén könnyen cserélődhetnek. Éppen ezért egy-egy ilyen „reliktum” helynév arra is rávilágít, hogy egykor lényegesen több, környezetre utaló helynév lehetett.

A későbbi helynevek meglehetősen szemléletes képet festenek a középkor végi állapotokról. Nagy haszonnal alkalmaztam Szabó T. Attila gyűjtését, amiben több falu határára vonatkozó 16–18. századi adatokat találtam. Adatai természetesen nem jellemzik a teljes környezetet, hiszen többnyire birtokösszeírásokat tartalmaz, így csak a nagyobb birtokosok fennmaradt összeírásait tartalmazza. Éppen emiatt az összeírás nagyon esetleges, de a történeti helynevek megerősítik a 20. századi helynévgyűjtések adatait, történeti alkalmazhatóságát, illetve komoly időrendi fogódzókat is ad, egy-egy helynévre épített rekonstrukció esetében. A 16–18. század között említett erdőre, fára, irtásra utaló helynevekkel ugyanis akkor már szántókat, kaszálókat neveztek meg, azaz több esetben akkor is már csak helynévi nyoma volt a korábbi, erdővel borított állapotoknak. A szántók, kaszálók egy része ekkor a tölgyerdők mellett, helyén (!) feküdt, erre utal egy birtokleírás 1586-ból: *Egy Nagj Tanorok Maradot Becz Palrol Verebes mellet, egj feleól Mas feleól Horgos pataka mellett Az Cheres ponkna*.

Különösen fontosak a 17. századi falutörvények, ezekben ugyanis esetenként részletesen ismertetik a védendő erdőket, fajokat illetve közvetlen utalásokat találunk a falu környezetére is. Az erdők a középkor végén a falvakhoz jóval közelebb, illetve közvetlenül közöttük helyezkedtek el, de helyüket a 17–18. században már bevonták a mezőgazdasági művelésbe. Ez az állapot köszön vissza Pesty Frigyes kérdőívére küldött válaszokból, ahol több helyen említik, hogy egykor erdő volt rajta, de most kaszáló, szántó. Ez a folyamat biztosan visszavezethető a középkorig.

A szántóterületek expanziója során irtották ki az erdők egy részét, különös tekintettel az újraszántó földközösségből (nyílföldek) kimaradó, szántóművelés alá fogott irtásokra, melyek az *erdőn vadnak*. Utóbb ezek művelése gyakran abbamaradt. Több falu határából is maradt arra vonatkozó adat a 18. századból, hogy a parlagon hagyott föld kezdett visszaerdősödni.

A rekonstrukcióhoz természetesen a jelenkori helynévgyűjtéseket is használhatjuk, hiszen ezek a gyűjtés időpontjától függetlenül a régi környezetről, illetve az azt megváltoztató beavatkozásokról tanúskodnak. A -rez összetételű helynevek a legutóbbi nyelvészeti összefoglalás szerint is nagy valószínűséggel az irtásokkal függenek össze.<sup>35</sup>

A különböző -vész helynevek és az irtások kapcsolatára egy szárhegyi adat világít rá (1712): *éget vész neuű helyben (kaszáló) ők huszon ot esztendőtol fogua bírnak és irtani kezdettek*. Szintén szárhegyi adat utal a Csere helynevek csereerdőkkel, tölgyesekkel való egyértelmű összefüggésére is: *Pal kouach Csereiben egy resz csereje* (1699).<sup>36</sup>

Az aszó, mint időszakos vízfolyás és az irtások lehetséges összefüggésére egy 1739-es példa: *Szék aszo Féiben Egy darab orotás egy kalongya Szena leszen rayta*.<sup>37</sup>

Az -aszalás, -irtás, -orotás, -égés összetételű helynevek esetében nincs szükség különösebb magyarázatra, ezek az erdők visszaszorításának különböző módzataiból létrejött elnevezések. Az újkori falutörvények rendszeresen foglalkoznak a kérdéssel, az erdők irtásának szabályozásával, amiről bőséges helyi forrásunk is van.<sup>38</sup>

Az alábbi összeállításban nem tüntettem fel a számtalan Piricske helynevet, noha ezek egyértelműen irtásokra utalnak (kopasz-irtott tető).<sup>39</sup> Elhelyezkedésük alapján azonban többnyire a lakott területektől távolabb eső hegytetőket jelölik, így a középkori környezet és településtörténet szempontjából nem bírnak túlzott jelentőséggel.

<sup>35</sup> SZENTGYÖRGYI 2008, különösen 37–47.

<sup>36</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 120.

<sup>37</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 17–18.

<sup>38</sup> IMREH 1983, 176–182, 243–268.

<sup>39</sup> BENKŐ 1948; BENKŐ 1989, 344.



A helynevekre alapozott környezeti rekonstrukció nem előzmény nélküli a helytörténeti irodalomban. Irtásokkal hozták összefüggésbe a különböző -rez, -vész, -égés, -perzselés, -irtás összetételű helyneveket a csíkszentdomokosi falumonográfiában is. A különböző adatok alapján itt a régi erdők rekonstrukciójával is próbálkoztak, megemlítve, hogy a komló a fűzes-égeres-cserjések jellemző liánja, míg a boróka és a vöröscsenkesz mogyorós-nyíres és a régi bükkösök, lucosok helyét jelzik.<sup>40</sup> Módszertani szempontból tanulságos, hogy ez utóbbi szakszerű összefoglalás egyértelműen igazolja, a különböző fafajokra utaló helynevek és az ellenőrzött-bejárt helyszíneken azonosított, illetve a rájuk utaló más, természettudományos megfigyelések alapján rekonstruált fajok kapcsolatát. A -csere, -nyáras, -nyír, -bükke, -rakottás, -egere típusú összetett helyneveket viselő területeken közvetve vagy közvetlenül azonosítani tudták a nevezett fafajokat. Ez nyilván a többi, közelebbiről nem vizsgált település helyneveire nézve is igazoló, megerősítő bizonyíték. A vonatkozó adatokat kistérségi bontásban (Al-, Felcsík) mutatom be.

Csíkszentdomokoson a falutól északra az Olt jobb partján ma is látható egy kis tölgyes.<sup>41</sup> Szenttamás és Szentdomokos határában a Garadoson végeztek és közöltek szakszerű, botanikai szempontú gypvizsgálatot. A gyp összetétele még ma is jelzi, hogy egykor felette, mellette lombhullató erdő, tölgyes volt.<sup>42</sup> Az erdők, irtások nyomait különböző összetételű helynevek őrzik, melyek egy-egy tagja utal a fentiekre (a számtalan helynév közül itt csak néhány): Aratás teteje, Asó-vész, Kús-bükk, Bors-bükk, Pásztor-bükk, Bükk, Csere, Égés, Égett-vész, Jáhoros, Juharfás-vápa, Kicsid-égés, Nyáras, Nyíres, Átalok-nyíre, Tamás-vesze, Vész, akárcsak az eltűnt erdők miatt időszakossá váló vízfolyásokat: Bábasza (-aszó).

Csíkszentdomokos határának élővilágáról, mai és régi növényzetéről színvonalas összefoglalás született, amely igazolja fenti észrevételeinket. A helyi emlékezet és a helytörténeti irodalom pontosan rögzíti egyes erdők teljes kivágásának az emlékét a 19. században a beszédes nevű Rezfarkáról, és Fülebükke részéről, illetve részletes leírást is ad a mai és az egykor sokkal színesebb növénytakaróról. Ugyanitt részletes helynévgyűjtést is közzétettek, benne számos környezetre utaló, térképen lokalizálható helynévvel. Ezekből kitűnik, hogy az erdők egykor jóval bennebb húzódtak a völgy aljához (Rezalja, Bábaszó, Csereoldal, Nagybükk, Égett-vész teteje, Fügevész, Nagymihály-vesze stb. helynevek).<sup>43</sup>

Csíkszenttamáson az 1667-os falutörvényében még csak az úgynevezett Keskeny Bükk aszalását tiltották. A vetésforgó miatt feltört új földek is az erdők kárára terjeszkedtek, hiszen azok „az erdőn vadnak.” 1676-ban már külön kitérnek az akkor még jelentős csereerdők védelmére, legeltetési („járom nélkül ökreit ki ne merészelje hajtani a csere aljáig”) és vágástilalmat vezetnek be, melyet nem szeghettek meg („Tilamban csereerdőt senki ne vágja, hordja semmi szükségére a falu híre nélkül”). Talán a fiatal erdő védelmeként értelmezhetjük, hogy a kerék és fentőfának való fák vágását csak a falubelieknek és nekik is csak saját használatra engedélyezték.<sup>44</sup> A lombhullató fajok – csere, nyír, bükk, egres, jáhoros (juharos ?) –, illetve az irtások nyomait (Égett-vész, Rez-égése, Báb-aszó, közvetve: Szén-égetők) a helynevek is megőrizték.<sup>45</sup> Ezek közül a Ponkcsere a 3. katonai felmérésen közvetlenül a terepbejárással azonosított középkori szenttamási faluhely felett, attól nyugatra elhelyezkedő dombtető.

A falu 16. századi környezetéről Szamosközynek köszönhetően plasztikus leírást ismerünk. Forrása a helyszínt ismerő, és az eseményeket saját bőrén érző szemtanú volt. „Ezt a helyet

<sup>40</sup> CSÍKSZENTDOMOKOS 1999, 14–19, 29–41.

<sup>41</sup> Ezzel egyezően a falu határában mai is találni Csere-oldal, -domb, -homlok, -húzása helyneveket. CSOMORTÁNI 1997, 130.

<sup>42</sup> CSÍKSZENTDOMOKOS 1999, 34–35; BÁLINT 2004.

<sup>43</sup> CSÍKSZENTDOMOKOS 1999, 15, 29–41, 47–57.

<sup>44</sup> IMREH 1983, 317–318, 327–328.

<sup>45</sup> CSOMORTÁNI 1997, 112–120.



mostani lakosai a szomszédos magaslaton emelkedő kápolnáról Szenttamásnak nevezik. ... A környék itt is, mint Erdély határvidéke körös-körül csupa sziklás, erdős hegység. ... Ezek után a székelek népes csapata az imént említett szenttamási hegy lábánál, már az esti szürkület beálltával, rajtaütött a lassan haladó, lépten-nyomon csak sövényekbe, árkokba és kidöntött fatörzsekbe ütköző bíboroson, valamint a szakadékos úton hol megálló, hol visszainduló kíséretén. ... Így aztán a székelység még a bíboros odaérkezése előtt sövénnyel, árokkal, rögtönzött töltéssel zárta el és erősítette meg a szűk átjárót. Ezt annál könnyebben teheték, mivel a környékbeli népség valamikor ezt az – akkor már kissé betemetődött – árkot ásta ki az illető körzet határjeléül.” A székelyek a bíborost és kíséretét egy szorosban támadták meg, akik ennek következtében „miután lovaikat otthagyták, gyalog próbáltak menekülni a meredek sziklákon, tölgyeseken és bozótokon keresztül.” A környék vegetációjára utalhat, hogy a fejedelem sebesült kísérője „egy csalitban, faágakból és száraz tölgyfalombból összehordott ágyon” feküdt. Ő beszélt el később a történetet, azaz a leírás szemtanú elbeszélésén, és nem tudálékos rekonstrukción alapszik! A fejedelemmel Mikó Miklós tartott, akivel a hegyen egy juhász kunyhójába húzódott be. Ez Naskalaton terült el, ahol „egy közeli tölgyfa alatt” lepihent.<sup>46</sup>

A különböző erdővédő rendeletek nem bizonyultak eléggé hatékonyak, ezért 1838-ban Csíkjenőfalván súlyosbították a büntetéseket. Noha a forrás meglehetősen kései, az itt említett erdőrészek, fajok biztosan a középkorban is megtalálhatóak voltak, a körülmények ismeretében a rögzítettnél még nagyobb elterjedésben. Nos, ekkor tiltják meg teljesen a Gyertyánosban a favágást, a bükkfák aszalását „akár kaszálóban akár erdő között legyen ... a „nyírfák is tilalom alá tették”. A tilalom oka, hogy a határban már csak „néhány helyeken holmi szakadék erdők”

voltak és „mert tapasztalásba vettük, hogy az épületnek megkévántató fát nem lehet határunk erdejében megtalálni már most is”.<sup>47</sup> A forrásokban említett bükk- és gyertyán-társulások, erdők (?) mellett tölgyesre, illetve irtásokra és ezek következményeire utaló helynevek is fennmaradtak (Köves-csere, Vész-pataka, Szék-aszó).<sup>48</sup> Jenőfalvától keletre Veres-csere-teteje. A belterülethez közelebb, illetve távolabb eső irtásokról a helytörténeti irodalom is megemlékezik: Csere-kert, Komló, Egres-kút, hegyes Bükk, (1777); Gyertyánon a Nyíres Erdőből irtást követően „örökség” lett; Seprőd nevezetű hely, mely a falu orotásából van (1785), alsó-, Felső-, Magas-bükk (1794); Bükk pataka, mely ugyan a falu tilalmas maktermő bükk-je volt, de irtották (1795). Hasonló tilalmas maktermő bükk volt Vadkés tövin is, de itt is volt irotvány (1801); Osztorosban az összes nyírfák levágását tiltják a Nyíres saroknál (1838). A mellékelt térképről kiderül, hogy a -bükk, -csere, gyertyános összetételű helynevek egy része ma szántóként, kaszálóként hasznosított területek elnevezése.<sup>49</sup>

Karcfalvi helynevek szintén vegyes társulásokról és irtásokról adnak hírt: Nyír, Csere-kert, -kapu, Eger, Égés, rez, Rakottyás, Gyertyán, Vész.<sup>50</sup>

Dánfalvától keletre található a Só-vész. A falu körüli erdőkre és irtásokra a -csere, -bükk, -bik, -égés, -rez, -eger, -nyír, -aszó összetételű helynevek utalnak.<sup>51</sup> A falu közvetlen szomszédságában magasodik a 3. katonai felmérésen a Cseretető.

Felcsíkon a Nagy-mező helynév (1633) egyértelműen jellemzi a falvak közötti területet. Mai sivár képe csalóka, a helynevekben több korábbi tájelenem neve fennmaradt: Halastó, Mocsár, Malom-kert, illetve Nagy aszalván, Nyír-tető, Bernád-egere, Szénégető.<sup>52</sup>

Madarason a 16. századtól adatolt a fejedelmi vashámor működése, amely hosszú ideig működött. A vasolvasztáshoz szükséges faszenet elsősorban bükk és tölgyfából nyerhették,

<sup>46</sup> SZAMOSKÖZY 1981, 293–298.

<sup>47</sup> IMREH 1983, 497.

<sup>48</sup> CSOMORTÁNI 1997, 104.

<sup>49</sup> SZABÓ-JAKAB 2001, 65–66, 173–183.

<sup>50</sup> CSOMORTÁNI 1997, 92–99.

<sup>51</sup> CSOMORTÁNI 1997, 77–88.

<sup>52</sup> CSOMORTÁNI 2008, 89–91.



így a hámor egész biztosan hozzájárult a felcsíki erdőtakaró visszaszorulásához. Ez a helynevek szerint egykor közvetlenül a falutól nyugatra is megtalálható volt (Vágástető). A madarasi falutörténeti kötetben jó történeti és jelenkori helynévgyűjteményt tettek közzé. Ebben számos környezetre utaló helynévvel találkozunk: *Vész-hát* (1675); *Szén nevű hely* - a hámorhoz tartozó faszénégetés helyszíne (1681); *Gaz-bükk* (1778); *Alsó Vész*, *Vágás*, *Veszes erdő*, *Szélbüke*, *Nyáros tető*, *Nagy eger*, *Csonka aszaló*, *Égés*, *Nyír teteje*, *Eger-kert* (19. század). A helynevek lokalizálását jól használható térkép egészíti ki. Ebből egyértelműen kiderül, hogy a különféle, irtásokra utaló helynevek nem a havasi területekre, hanem a medence belső, falu melletti részein irtott erdőkre utalnak.<sup>53</sup> Ezekkel a helynevekkel egy korábbi gyűjtésben is találkozunk (Égés, Bükk, Juharos, Nyír, Nyáros, Rakottyás, Vágás (közvetlenül a falutól nyugatra), Vész, Csonkaszaló).<sup>54</sup>

A Hargita felé eső legelők eredeti növénytakaróját jelzik a Rákostól keletre összeírt Nagyégés, fehéraszó helynevek.

Kissé délebbre Göröcsfalván Cserenyír, vész összetételű helyneveket gyűjtöttek, míg a Bogáton szórvány tölgycserjék ma is fellelhetők. Az egykori növényzetre és emberi beavatkozásra a Fejéraszó, -eger, -egeres, -csere, kecskevész, nagy-égés, -nyáros, -szilos, -vágás, -üver, -vész helynevek utalnak.<sup>55</sup> A 17. századi Cserey-kúria belső, ma már nem látható falképein nemesi vadászat jelenik meg. A hajtás egy ritkás, lombhullató erdőben zajlik, amit a rákosi falutörténet, a helynevek alapján nem teljesen alaptalanul, annak bizonyítékeként említ, hogy ebben az időben a több falu határában található felcsíki Nagymezőn még itt-ott tölgy-bükk erdő volt.<sup>56</sup> A

Rákos feletti, északi, ma már erdő nélküli domboldal, ma is a Cseretető nevet viseli.

Csíkszentmihály 1622-es falutörvényében a Nyíresben tiltja a legeltetést. Ekkor az erdők a szántók végéig, a gyepekig érték, ennek irtása szintén büntetést vont maga után. Az erdők oltalmazása miatt általában tiltották a tűzzel való erdőirtást, ill. a bükkfa lábán történő aszalását.<sup>57</sup> Az erdők összetételére az összeírások és a helynevek is utalnak: *Csere felé fordulóban* (1719), *Kovács orotása* (1757).<sup>58</sup> A helynevek lokalizálását egy friss helytörténeti mű alapján végezhetjük el (Csere-tető, -völgy, -oldal; Vasfúvó, Péter-bükke, Szilas, György-vágása, Orotás-patak; Farkas-vész, Égés-patak).<sup>59</sup>

Vacsárcsiban egy 1757-es birtokösszeírás részlete rávilágít a környezet változásaira: *a Vatsartsi és Szent Mihályi Hátarok között a Rátzné Csereje nevű Lábban .... bira egy földet, mely most parlagjában vagyon s erdő is kezdette lepni*.<sup>60</sup> Azaz egy régi irtott cseretölgy erdő helyén szántót alakítottak ki, ami a felhagyását követően visszaerdősödött, ekkor már vélhetően fenyővel (?). A jelenkori helynévgyűjtemény számos, ma már nem látható környezeti elemet rögzített: Csere útja, Csere ajja, Rez (?), Halászház sövénye, Kerek-nyír.<sup>61</sup>

A madéfalvi helynevek (Aratás, Aszalás égés, Bakk vesze, Bükk, Eger, Fehéraszó, Szénégető, Fűrész-kert, Jó-ré-vesze, Orotás, Szénégető, Vágás) a fenti elképzelésekbe illeszkednek.<sup>62</sup> A „Cserét” – tölgyerdőt egy 1707-es végrendelet is említi.<sup>63</sup>

Csíksicsói helynevek: Aratás, Aszó, Bükk, Csere- Cserehát, Egres, Fészó, Laposnyír, Nyárszeg, Rakottyá, Vész, Joharkút. A helyi emlékezet a falu melletti régi erdők helyét is ismerni véli.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>53</sup> PÁL-ANTAL ET AL. 2006, 262–282.

<sup>54</sup> CSOMORTÁNI 1997, 63–71.

<sup>55</sup> CSOMORTÁNI 1997, 54–59, illetve 42–52.

<sup>56</sup> CSÁSZÁR 2003, 83.

<sup>57</sup> IMREH 1983, 297–300.

<sup>58</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 45–48; CSOMORTÁNI 2006, 139–146.

<sup>59</sup> SZŐCS-SZŐCS 2008, 131–132.

<sup>60</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 75–76.

<sup>61</sup> CSOMORTÁNI 2006, 136–139.

<sup>62</sup> CSOMORTÁNI 1997, 24–41.

<sup>63</sup> TUDÓS 2003, 344.

<sup>64</sup> CSÍKCSICSÓI TALLÓZÓ 37–40.; CSOMORTÁNI 1997, 7–23.



Ugyanitt Alszezen említenek 1759-ben a *Taplocza nevezetű Forrás Vize mellett egy sessiot, mely igen Lápos és vizes helyly úgy hogy lako helylynek alkalmatlan.*<sup>65</sup> A csicsóiak később erdeik védelmében hoztak szabályzatot, ugyanis az erdő irtása olykor pazarlóan felelőtlenül folyt, tudniillik „*némely emberek levágván a legszebb fákat, abból egy tőkét elvive a többit veszni hagyják*” – írják 1842-ben. Éppen ezért „*valahány nyers fát valaki elpusztít, minden fáért külön-külön minden irgalom, kegyelem és engedelmen kívül 12-12 ezüst forintot*” fizetett.<sup>66</sup>

Pesty Frigyes gyűjtése során a delneiek azt nyilatkozták, hogy a Csicsó és Delne között elhelyezkedő Torda-völgye, ma nyílt, szántott részen egy Torda nevű ember irtotta ki az erdőt. Itt több adat van irtásra, erdőre (bükk, csere, nyír).<sup>67</sup> Csomortánban Ördögös tó, Mocsár (borvízes), Cserető (1757). A visszaerdősődésre itt is találunk adatot 1757-ből: *egy Erdőtől felkölt régen szánto föld most Néhül helylyel kaszáló/Egredben.*<sup>68</sup>

Pálfalvának az Oltra nyúló részén a Szépvíz tövében egy nyíresben ló kert volt: *Az az nagy nyír tilalomba uolt mind az szepuizel egietemben... az szep víz töuin fellul az olt melike lo kerty uala.... Es az Nyre ment ell.* Ugyanitt a Somlyó felé eső részről a 18. századra már mező volt: *felső mezőben... a pálfalvi útra menőben.*<sup>69</sup>

Az egykori Szent Péter-plébániához tartozó Csobotfalva, Somlyó, Taplocsa, Vardotfalva határában többfelé őrzik a helynevek a régi, változatosabb erdőtakaró, illetve az irtások nyomát. A somlyai, csobotfalvi határban (két külön közbirtokossági!) Bükk-ajja, Nagy-Bükk, Gyertyános, Cserés-oldal stb, Bükk-ajja, Égett-sarok, Gyertyános, Híjászó, Kerek-ezer, Szénégető, Vágás, Nyíres; Taplocán: Vész, Aratás-tető helyneveket

találjuk.<sup>70</sup> Az erdők közelsége miatt a felhagyott szántók hamar visszaerdősödtek. Csobotfalván 1757-ben írják: *A Közép Bük patakán a Száraz Völgy alatt egy Közép rendű joságu Zápp föld ... melyen most Erdő vagyon.*<sup>71</sup>

A taplocai határból 17–18. századi helynevek jelzik az Olt-menti növénytakaró összetételét, illetve a lezajlott irtások nyomát: *ot melette ualo fizes* (1614), *Nagyeger, Pál Egriben* (1756), *Köves Vész, Nagy Vész, Orotásban, A Bodo vágásában*, de a régi fokrendszerre is találunk nyomokat: *Az olth mellett a Baxa fokában... szénat termű mindenkor tilalmas kaszáló* (1757).<sup>72</sup> A vardotfalvi birtokok között 1757-ben a következő, környezeti viszonyokra utaló helyneveket is rögzítették: *Köves Vész, Orotás, Kövényes-láb.*<sup>73</sup>

Az alcsíkiak életét az itt már hatalmas ártérrel rendelkező Olt jelentősen befolyásolta. Zsögödben ugyanakkor számos erdőre utaló helynév van: *Aszalván, Besső-vész, Bükkvágás, Kacsosnyíre, Kerek-bükk, Kerek-csere, Szénégető, Szilvágás, Vész.*<sup>74</sup>

Csíkszentkirályon már a 17. században malom állt az Olton: *az Szent Kirali olt vizin leuő malom.* Itt *A határban az erdő alatt a rakottyas tó mellett felyül az erdő felől, illetve Felső erdő alatt a nados szeg felett...* illetve *a Felső erdő alatt Fűzesben* (1720) leírások szerint a ligetes ártér közelében még állt erdő. Az erdők összetételét a *Csere-tető*, sorsukat az *Orotva tető* helynevek jelzik. Az erdők egészen az ártér, ill. a falu közeléig húzódhattak, tudniillik *Az Felső erdő alatt Fűzesben/nados szeg felett* írnak össze szántókat (1720), ill. *a Sz: Kirallyi felső erdő alatt Kovacsok utcájára jövőben* (1765).<sup>75</sup> Ma jobbára csak a helynevek jelzik a régi erdők helyét: *Aszalván, Csere ajja, Nyíres, Szilos, Vágás.*<sup>76</sup>

<sup>65</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 11.

<sup>66</sup> IMREH 1983, 500.

<sup>67</sup> PESTY 2013.

<sup>68</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 12.

<sup>69</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 21.

<sup>70</sup> CSOMORTÁNI 2007, 137–148.

<sup>71</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 8.

<sup>72</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 56–58. Későbbi adatok alapján Szereda mellett is volt egy fok.

<sup>73</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 76.

<sup>74</sup> CSOMORTÁNI 1986, 78–80.

<sup>75</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 39–42.

<sup>76</sup> CSOMORTÁNI 1986, 76–78.



Csikszentléleken 1759-ben említene a Bük alatt szántót,<sup>77</sup> míg további erdőkre a helynevek utalnak: Anda bükke, Bükk ajja, stb. Csere ajja, stb., Nyír-oldal.<sup>78</sup> Aligha véletlen, hogy a szomszédos Csikmindszenten hasonló helynevekkel találkozunk: Boroszlói-égés, Bükk-oldal, Cserefás-kert, Nyíres völgye, Orotván, Rakottyás, Vágás, Vész.<sup>79</sup>

Csikszentgyörgytől a Csikszentmártonig tartó keletebbi részt (a Fiság bal partját?) nevezték Kismezőnek (megkülönböztetésül az Oltig nyúló Nagymezőtől) már a 16. században is: *az Zenz martonra meneobe, az Kis mezeoben*. Valahol ettől keletre keresendő a *Körösmény falui czere* is (1654). A Fiság ártere Szentgyörgy mellett húzódott, az itteni nádas szerepel Lipszky térképén is, mellette cserererdő: Sz: *Geörgj hatarban a nadas alatt*.<sup>80</sup> A *Fisak vizinek derek foliama-n nagi palokon közlekedtek és ezen lisztelő malom ház-ak voltak*.<sup>81</sup> A falu déli széle mellett még vegyes lombhullató erdőtársulások voltak: *A Szent János Mezein a Lápos Cserére menőben... Nyirire menőben*.

A csereerdőket a művelés céljából (is) irtották, így írhattak a 18. század végén *Cere mellett szántót; vicinusa egy felől a falu Cereje*. A magát Szentgyörggyel azonosító, eredeti nevén Körösmény(-falva) 1619-ben saját konstitúciót tett a *csere, nyíres és bükk tilalmas erdőknék meg tartására*.<sup>82</sup> Ebből azonban nem derül ki, hogy hol és mekkora erdeik vannak, de jellemző módon célkitűzésük az értékes tölgy és általában a lombhullató erdők védelme volt.

Bánkfalva és Kotormány között a mezőben még a 18. század közepén is láthatók voltak a régi erdők nyomai: *Nagy Harasztosba a kotormányi Uton által rugoban* említene szántókat.<sup>83</sup> A szomszédos Kotormány területén a 17. század

hajnalán még álltak a tölgyesek, de már megkezdődött irtásuk: *Kottormany Hatarban; az alső mezeoben cherrere hágóban, az cherenel... felseo mezeoben ortouagiban* (1606.).<sup>84</sup>

Bánkfalván 1700-ban három tízes rögzíti a közös csere és bükk tilalmas erdőkről szóló határozatát, noha a szövegből kitűnik, hogy már korábban volt egy erre vonatkozó falutörvényük (noha ennek előtte volt végezéssünk, melly a sok változó disturbiumban elveszett).<sup>85</sup> Ebben az erdők helyét is megadják az Édes Bükk pataka és a havasi út között. A 18. század elején említik az *Egrés aszó Patakan átol Csere oldal nevű helyben lévő szántót*, ami egyrészt irtott égerfákkal borított részre, eltűnt (?) tölgyesre és éppen emiatt kiszáradt, vagy időszakos vízfolyássá váló patakra utal, melyek helyén szántó létesült.<sup>86</sup> Ez a passzus sűrítve tartalmazza azokat az újkori folyamatokat, melyek máig ható módon alakították át a környezetet. A 3. katonai felmérésen ezen a részen a Málna-oldal, Csutakos helynév egyértelműen irtásra utal, míg a Csere-oldal, Kicsi nyír, Édes bükk a régi erdő összetételére, a Szénégető-pataka pedig a változás egyik okára.

A Nagy-mezőn, közvetlenül az Olt mellett, nedves kaszálók feküdtek, amint erre számos Sás-kert helynév utal.

Az időközben elpusztult, szintén Fiság-völgyi település, Monyasd 1601-es falutörvényében több ízben is foglalkoznak az erdők védelmével. A Bükkből csak a bíró tudtával lehetett fát vágni, de aszúfát fejsze nélkül szabad volt hordani. A pásztorokat eltiltották attól, hogy a fákat meghántsák, illetve álló fába tüzet tegyenek.<sup>87</sup> Ez a kitétel egyértelműen nagyméretű lombhullató fákra, erdőre utal, a fenyőféléken ugyanis nem keletkezik olyan odú, amibe tüzet lehetne rakni, míg ez a bükk, tölgy

<sup>77</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 42.

<sup>78</sup> CSOMORTÁNI 1983, 75–76.

<sup>79</sup> CSOMORTÁNI 1982, 155–157.

<sup>80</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 18.

<sup>81</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 22–23.

<sup>82</sup> BÁRTH 2007, 333–334.

<sup>83</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 9.

<sup>84</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 62.

<sup>85</sup> BÁRTH 2007, 335–337.

<sup>86</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 8.

<sup>87</sup> SZŐCS 2004.



esetében gyakori jelenség. A monyasdi völgytől délre az I. katonai felmérés még a *Cseretető* nevű helyen (tölgy?) erdőt jelöl, ami egyértelműen jelzi a domboldal eredeti erdőtakaróját.

Menaság közvetlen közelében ma bükkös van, de előfordulnak nyírre, cserére, égerre utaló helynevek is a 17–18. századi forrásokban. A szántók mezsgyéi a környező domboldalakon jól látszanak. A szántók a csereerdőig (*Cséraalat való nevű helyben* ill. *njr végben* említenek szántót 1711-ben), míg a kaszált részek egészen a fenyvesek közeléig húzódtak: 1651 *faljka feniő fein* említenek szántót, illetve hasonlóan távoli helyen kaszálót (1684.): *Agh Patak fejben való szena fuit megh kaszalta*. Folyamatos művelés hiányában a természetben elindult a visszarendeződés: *az erdő fel vött; Szopos teteiin vagion egy darab föld szanto fold uolt az erdo fel kezdette vénni*. Az aszó, mint időszakos vízfolyás és az irtások kapcsolatára egy 1739-es példa: *Szék aszo Féiben Egy darab orotás egy kalongya Szene leszen rayta*.<sup>88</sup> A 20. század közepén még számos környezetre utaló helynevet feljegyeztek: Rakottyás, Begyentőr (bölénycsapda!), Bük-alja, -nyaka, stb., Csere (1783), ill. Csere-oldal, -alja stb, Eger, vész, Jáhoros, Komlós, nyír, aszó, Szilas, Tilalmas. Ezek, az erdők az öregek 1941-ben tett visszaemlékezései szerint, még majd mindenütt lehúzódtak a falu széléig.<sup>89</sup> Itt jegyezzük meg, hogy a falu nevének etimológiája szempontjából talán nem érdektelen, hogy összeírtak egy Ág-völgy, Ág-völgy feje nevű részt, ami talán a település nevének a Ménes ágra visszamenő magyarázatát erősítheti.

Ma a Nagy-mező a Zsögödi-szorostól a Tusnádi szorosig (?) húzódik, és úgy tűnik, hogy ez már hasonlóképpen lehetett a 16. században is, ekkor ugyanis Csíkszentimrén említik 1607-ben a *nagj mezeo*-t. Az erdők azonban lenyúltak az alsó részekig *az erdo alatt a Bedecs út mellett a bedetsi erdore fell jaro út*. További adat Barla Molnánál ... *egi darab Irtas* (1666), illetve a Margit-kápolnáig értek: *az also erdő alatt a Kápolnán belül* írtak össze szántót. 1740-ben *kozepső*

*erdő alatt To köz nevű helyben*. A falu mellett többfelé voltak erdőfoltok (Alsó-, középső, felső erdő 1720-ban), azon belül már csak elvétve maradtak facsoportosulások: *az alsó erdő alatt a cserefáknál*, de van helynévi adat szilre, égerre, égerre is. Kissé délebbre: *Szent simoni mezőn Erdő alatt Szilosba. Két pusztá tóhely melyek közösök az több possessorokkal* (1688).

Az egykori erdők eltűnésének egyik okozóját, a szentsimoni határ szélén lévő *Zen egeteo*-t 1608-ban említik, míg a fűrészekre 1671-től (?) van adat, már akkor így hívták az egyik befolyó patakot. A határban /a telkek szélén húzódó kaszálókat (?) kertek kerítették. Az Olt két partjára települt falu életét alapvetően meghatározta a víz közelsége: *Sár keozeot, Kerek nadra meneoben* említenek szántókat (1622), illetve a víz visszahúzóását elősegítő fokokat (1666), továbbá *Halas Toh és hál tarto helyeket* a Henter udvarházhoz tartozó tanórok mellett (1671). A tavak egy része magántulajdonban volt, amint erre a *Bak Imre taua, Benéné tova és Boczkor taua* helynevek utalnak. A határban a *hév víz patakának* a befolyását *Taploczának* is nevezték. Ekkor még használatban voltak az Olt-menti vízszabályozást, ártéri gazdálkodást elősegítő fokrendszerek: *az Szelies foknal* írnak össze kaszálót 1666-ban. Az irtások miatt az erdők egyre távolabb estek: *Szt: Imrei erdőn Vágás nevezetű helyjen; vicinusa délről a bedetsi erdőre fel járo utt* (1762).<sup>90</sup>

Csatószegen közvetlenül a szántók mellett húzódtak az erdők, melyek összetételét és tulajdonosait is (!) jól tükrözik a korabeli helynevek: *Miklos janos egere melet* (1753), *az erdő alat farkas nyiry nevű helysejben*, *az Csik Csatoszegi erdő alat*, illetve *Az Csik Csató Szegi hataron erdő alat az Miklos Janosne Égerin alól* (1755) írtak össze szántókat. Az erdők sorsát a *Hoszszu orotás* (1763), *vész nevezetű mező* (1796) jellegű helynevek mutatják. Egy későbbi adat szerint: *a Csatószegi Erdő alatt Hoszszu orotás nevű helyben Széna fűvek között* (1803).<sup>91</sup> Ugyanakkor több helyen említik, hogy ilyen-olyan erdő volt, de most kaszáló, szántó.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>88</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 17–20.

<sup>89</sup> ÚJVÁRI 1983.

<sup>90</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 24–39.

<sup>91</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 7–8, 37.

<sup>92</sup> PESTY 2013.



A falu határában a 17. századtól említik az ártéri gazdálkodás-vízszabályozás nyomait a tavakat illetve az erdőkre, vegetációra utaló helyneveket: az *Hidegsegen ualo to heli* (1615) ugyanekkor szilasert szaz huszon öt forintot adot vala, Nyr Mezeön (1617); erről később írják (1732): *Szent simoni mezőn Erdő alatt Szilosba. Két pusztatóhely melyek közösök az több possessorokkal* (1688), *Erdő alatt az Töltés (?) veginel* (1720), ill. ugyanitt Kovács Egriben... *erdő alatt Farkas vész Egrinel, .... erdő alatt nagj vészben, erdő alatt Szén egetőben... Nyír mellett ... Erdő alatt közepső nevű helyben az Aszó mellett... Hosszú orotás nevű helyben...írnak össze szántókat.* 1734-ben az itteni fokot említik *Az ólt mellett az szeke hidgjan feljül széllyes fokon alól... A helynév és az ártér élésének összefüggéseire egy későbbi, 1773-as adat világít rá: néhai Nagy Márton a mi élt azon Csikászó Désa Sára Tónak felibe Csikásztot, Varsáit ottan tartotta midőn mások varsáit ott tanálta ki hánta onnan egybe is vagdalta, az eo halála után is Nagy József mikor érkezett csikásztot ottan.* Nyilvánvaló, hogy nem csak a szentsimoni foknál, hanem az Olt mentén minden faluban hasonlóképpen hasznosították az ártereket, holtágakat, tavakat, fokokat.<sup>93</sup>

Verebesen ma is találni egy-két maradvány tölgyet, ezekre, vélhetően akkor még nagyobb, összefüggő állományban, a legkorábbi helynévi adat 1586-ból: *Egy Nagj Tanorok Maradot Becz Palrol Verebes mellet, egj feleól Mas feleól Horgos pataka mellett Az Cheres ponkna.* Ezt még később is említik (1717): *az cseren verebes elót, de az összeírásokban más fajok-erdők (?), és természetesen az irtások is feltűnnek: Aszó-patakán, Gergélj Mihály egre mellett... melynek vicinussa az eger, az égés sarkára menőben.* A művelt területek kiterjesztése oda vezetett, hogy az egykori erdők már csak dülőnevek emlékeinként élnek tovább: *az Csere nevezetű hatarban az vetés kertre menő labban – írnek össze egy*

szántót 1769-ben, illetve további szántókat *az Aszó nevezetű lábban, az Orotás nevezetű helyen* (1796). Olt-menti faluként Verebesen is kialakították a megáradt Olt vizének szabályozására, visszatartására a fokokat: *Fok-Árok nevű helyben, Oltmelett valo Fok árokja...*<sup>94</sup> Az alcsíki erdők egykori Olt-menti helyzetére egyértelműen utalnak az Olt balpartján, közvetlenül az ártér szélén összeírt Égés-domb, Nagyvész helynevek.

Szentmártonból ismerjük a legkorábbi irtásra utaló adatok egyikét 1606-ból: *hagó feien cherne bwjókiben orotátott Boch Imre, az hagó feien chierne bukiben orotátás nagj mezőn - azaz ekkoriban még a mai Nagymezőn voltak irtható erdők.* 1616-ban írták, hogy *Az cziere alattis tudok ket darab orotast.* Ezek egyike a *Kasteljnál* (1688) *Az falu vegiben a' Pusztá Kő háznál.*<sup>95</sup> A szántó és az egykori csere, azaz a tölgyerdő tehát valamikor közvetlenül a falu mellett helyezkedett el. Becz Imre több föld és tó birtokosa is volt, földjeire jobbágyokat telepített (?): *az hidegsegen ualo tot biria uala Becz Imreh Vram ... hazakot is czenaltatott uala* (1625). Ugyanekkor a Hidegseg (Fiság-mente) egykori növénytakasulásaira itt is utalnak: *Nyr mezoben, illetve Kortvelyes völgy* (1659). A 17. században már említik *Az chere alat-i szántókat.*<sup>96</sup> Az 1996–1997-ben gyűjtött helynévanyagban az egykori környezet még visszaköszön: Bükk, Csere-ösvén, Gyertyános-sorka, Nagy-aratás, Nyír,<sup>97</sup> Csekefalfván Hegyes Nyír, Falu Irtoványa, Nyír szeg, Fok-nevű helyet említenek.<sup>98</sup>

Kozmásan 1688-ban említik a tölgyeseket, melyek a szántók közelébe (?) értek: *Az Csere alatt, Az nyír alatt, Az Csere dombján.* 1690-ben szintén említik az *all Csikban Kozmasan kívüül egy nagy darab Csere erdő-t.*<sup>99</sup> Utóbb 1769-től adatolt az *Orotvány, Béli Csereje*, ezek egy része a keleti határban volt: *vicinusa Napkeletről az csere, Az Eger mellett, Rakottya nevű hely, egy Pusztá Halos Tó is....* A helynevekre alapozott

<sup>93</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 49–55.

<sup>94</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 58–61.

<sup>95</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 42–45.

<sup>96</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 42–45.

<sup>97</sup> CSOMORTÁNI 2005, 150–153.

<sup>98</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 10.

<sup>99</sup> TUDÓS 1998, 222.



erdőrekonstrukciókat szintén ugyanez az 1772-es irat erősíti meg: *Vagjon ezen fellyul egy egész irtott Hegy oldal, melly régentén Béldi Cseréje nevezetű Erdőből irtatott az Jobbágyoktól, Az most említett Béldi cseréje nevezetű Erdő közös volt egy néhány Possessor vrakkal, actu azoknak Jussain sokon is birnok otton, azon Irtasba.* Béldi Kelemen a 17. század legelején örökölte meg a Beczek alcsíki birtokait, ez esetben erdeit is. Egyik további erdőnek a helyét is megadják (1796): *A Tusnád előtt valo Csere mezőn.*<sup>100</sup> A jelenkori helynévanyagban még fellelhetők a régi környezetre utaló adatok: Andor-bükke, Bocskor-orotása, Csere ajja, -ódal, Egeres, Orotván, Új-aszálván.<sup>101</sup>

A falvak közti erdők mellett ekkor már javában éltek a távolabbi havasi erdőket is. Szintén ekkor említették, hogy *Az kozmasi Jozaghoz birodalmok vagion Barot havasabannis... az Barot hauassanak vicinussa Egi feleol hermany hatar, Mas feleol Chyki Zent Kiraly hatar vagyon Egi Tanorokok kit Tekeresnek hynak; Az Barotth hawassa... Azon hawas mellet keozel Kapws hauasabannis valo birodalma Becz Palnak; az gorgósban vagion Verbes feleol Birodalma Becz Imrehnek kozmassi hatarban.*<sup>102</sup> A havasi birtokok minden bizonnyal a legeltetés és szénacsinalás miatt voltak fontosak, ami kiterjedt állattenyésztésre utal.

Lázárfalva közvetlen térségében ma mindenhol mezőket találunk és túlnyomórészt így volt már a 17–18. században is: 1694. *Orotás nevű helyen szántó, Lázár rete uegiben az Komlosban, Kozmás feleol ualó mezeoben, Senas mezőben, Kemlő rét, Füvényes Láb,* bár egy-két erdőfolt még állt: *Kerek feniű Dombon, Csere dombján.* Ez utóbbi már szántó megjelöléseként szerepel 1759-ben, így kérdéses, hogy volt-e rajta ekkor még erdő, akárcsak a *Tőgyes mezőn* (kaszáló). Egy további határleírásnál magányos tölgyre találunk utalást: *Kis Mezőbe a Cserefára mégyen.* Az irtásokra szintén több hely utal. Az *Eresztevény*

*dombja* helynév védett sarjerdőre utal az *Orotás végénél.*<sup>103</sup> A falu határában több nedves élőhely volt: *naid mezejen, az to melet, az Ju feresztő tonal, Czene tavánál, Megye sár.*<sup>104</sup> A helynevek a 20. századig megőrizték az egykori növénytakaró és az erdőirtások emlékét: Égés, Gyertyános, Orotás, Aszaló, Barta-vágás, Bükk, Eresztővény.<sup>105</sup>

A tusnádi határban/havasban már jobbára fenyőket irtak össze, de találkozunk más fajokkal is: Eger alatt, Csere mező. Az erdők visszaszorulása alighanem összefüggésben van az *Erdő égése, Fűrész-lábja* helynevek névadási motivációi mögötti tevékenységekkel.<sup>106</sup> Ugyanakkor Tusnádon a templomdombon, ma kisebb, vélhetően ültetett tölgyes látható, de a falu közelében korábban is voltak tölgyesek (1796): *A Tusnád előtt valo Csere mezőn.*

A falu melletti szántók egy része a 16. században az Olt és a lenyúló erdők közé szorultak: *Thusnadon alol az olthnak az thul felin vagion Birodalmok az heljben kit Juhosnak hínak, vicinussa aznak az olt egyik feleol, Mas feleol az Erdeo kit Juhusnak hiueonk.* 1615-ben említenek egy patakba leuó tó heli-t, melyről némivel később 1622-ben írják: *az Rauaz pataka teouteol fogua az mitacz patakateueig tudom hogj tilalmasba tartotta Becz palne nem szabad uolt masnak ezt halaznj, az Rauaz Patakaban ualo to helliet tudom hogj Becz Pal dugatta uolt fel... az gjukeresben uagjon egi to azt tudom hogj Becz palne tilalmasba tartottak; nem uolt szabad masnak ot halazj.* Azaz számos patakot dugtak el és azt halászóhelyként birtokolták. A tavakban, mint másutt is láttuk varsákkal halásztak (1688): *Vagyon egy Pusztá Tó hely is a Varsa vécz nevű hely mellett.* A patakok elrekesztése-dugása mellett itt is alkalmazták az ártéri vizek szabályozására a fokokat (1744): *az Tusnadi Hataron Holt fok nevű Helyben.* Ezeket a területeket részben kaszálóként hasznosították: Széna rétben a *Holt foknál* (1767).

<sup>100</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 63–68.

<sup>101</sup> CSOMORTÁNI 2005, 143–145.

<sup>102</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 58–62.

<sup>103</sup> A középkori eresztevényekhez lásd SZABÓ 2008, 331–333.

<sup>104</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 13–14.

<sup>105</sup> CSOMORTÁNI 2005, 153–156.

<sup>106</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 67, ill. 71–75.



Itt kell rátérnünk kissé részletesebben a vízgazdálkodásnak és halászatnak a jelenleginél jóval nagyobb középkori szerepére.<sup>107</sup> Az Olt árterei kiváló halászhelyek lehettek mindig is, de emellett halastavak is viszonylag gyakran szerepelnek a későközépkori forrásokban. Ez nem csak a tágasabb Alcsíkon, de Felcsíkon is adatolt. A halászatnak számos válfaját művelték-alkalmazták. Egy 1667-es szenttamási tiltás szerint *az Olt vizében ... szikannyal és, kappagatóval vagy maszlaggal ... illetve garküvel, habval* halásztak. Ezt szabályozták 1676-ban is, ekkor korlátozzák a halászatot a Babora-Babosza, Lebed-Leseőd, Köd patakán.<sup>108</sup> Dánfalván 1638-ban említenek tavakat, melyek örökség részeként, bizonyára jövedelmet, megélhetést jelentő halastavak lehettek.<sup>109</sup> A ma is jelentős ártéri résszel rendelkező Alcsíktól eltérően Felcsík jóval szárazabb területnek tűnik. Az Olt szabályozása és az erdők kiirtása előtt azonban itt is szép számmal voltak nedves élőhelyek. Borzsovában, mely az Olttól ugyancsak távoli falu, a 17–18. században malmot, halastavat említenek (*Boroua falua aluegeben az orzag hidgian fefelliel egy molnot – 1633, Halas Tóra jövőben, a vagyis a Halasto kuttyára jövőben - 1759*), azaz ekkor az itteni Nagy Mező belső részein is szép számmal lehettek bő vízü patakok, nedves területek. Taplocán szintén említik az Oltból leválasztott haltartóhelyeket: *Az olth mellett a Baxa fokában... szénat termű mindenkor tilalmas kaszáló* (1757).<sup>110</sup>

Az Olt alcsíki, több ágra szakadó, kanyargó szakasza, széles árterével azonban igazi halparadicsom lehetett. A halászó helyeket azonban fokok kialakításával, halastavak létrehozásával is növelték.<sup>111</sup> A fokokat gyakran az Olt levágott meandereiből alakították ki áradáskor vizet engedve a kiszáradt mederbe, majd azt lezárták, illetve varsákkal rekesztették el. Szükség esetén újabb vízmennyiséget is engedhettek bele, gyakorlatilag haltenyésztő helyekként működtek.

Rájuk vonatkozó forrásaink késeiek, 18. századiak ugyan, de igen valószínűnek tűnik, hogy már a középkorban is alkalmazták őket. Ilyen fokról tudunk Alcsíkon több helyen: *az Tusnadi Hataron Holt fok nevű Helyben* (1744). Ezeket a területeket utólag részben kaszálóként hasznosították: *Széna rétben a Holt foknál* (1767). A halastavakban „alföldi” csikász élet folyt: Csátoszezen 1734-ben az itteni fokot említik *Az ólt mellett az szeke hidgian feljűl szélljes fokon alól*. A helynév és az ártér élésének összefüggésére egy későbbi, 1773-as adat világít rá: *néhai Nagy Márton a mi élt azon Csikászó Désa Sára Tónak felibe Csikásztot, Varsáit ottan tartotta midőn mások varsáit ott tanálta ki hánta onnan egybe is vagdalta, az eo halála után is Nagy József mikor érkezet csikásztot ottan*. Nyilvánvaló, hogy nem csak a szentsimoni foknál, hanem az Olt mentén majd minden faluban hasonlóképpen hasznosították az ártereket, holtágakat, tavakat, fokokat.<sup>112</sup> Verebesen is kialakították a megáradt Olt vizének szabályozására, visszatartására a fokokat: *Fok-Árok nevű helyben, Oltmelett valo Fok árokja*.<sup>113</sup>

A halászatnak régészeti nyomait is ismerjük, a csíkkozmási Becz-kúria egyik személgödrében halpikkelyeket, rákollókat, kagylót is találtunk.

Úgy tűnik tehát, hogy a 17–18. századi közvetlen adatok, illetve közvetett helynévi nyomok alapján jól dokumentálhatóak a korabeli környezet eltérő elemei. A mai, illetve az újkori állapothoz képest; feltételezzük, hogy a kora újkorra rekonstruált állapot hatványozottan igaz lehet a korábbi századokra vonatkozóan. Hasonló jelenségre figyelt fel az ország hideg sarkaként ismert, szomszédos Gyergyói-medence néprajzát kutató Tarisznyás Márton is, aki a terület történeti néprajzi feldolgozása kapcsán hívta fel a figyelmet arra, hogy Gyergyó eredeti növénytakarója, erdőállománya jóval változatosabb volt. A medence alsó részein kiterjedt mocsarakat,

<sup>107</sup> A téma legutóbbi áttekintéséhez ld. FERENCZI 2008 bő szakirodalmi áttekintéssel.

<sup>108</sup> IMREH 1983, 317–319, 327.

<sup>109</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 9–10, 13.

<sup>110</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 56–58.

<sup>111</sup> JÁNOSI 2004, 407–408.

<sup>112</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 49–55.

<sup>113</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 58–61.



közöttük erdőket, azon belül is lombhullatókat, tölgyeseket feltételezett. Fő forrásait neki is a 17–18. századból ismert helynevek alkották, de a népemlékezet is megőrizte az egykor a települések közvetlen közelébe elterülő erdők emlékét. Fontos hangsúlyozni, hogy 1586-ban a képét két kalongya búzával és harmadfél kalongya zabbal fizették ki, azaz ekkor itt bizonyíthatóan búzatermesztés is folyt. Adatai szerint a 15–16. században jobbra a települések közvetlen közelében folyt mezőgazdasági művelés, majd a 17. században a 950–1000 m magasságig húzódtak a szántók. Ezzel egyidőben a települések közötti erdők irtása is lezajlik és csupán kicsiny foszlányok maradnak meg a 18. század végéig.<sup>114</sup> A csíki adatok egyértelműen hasonló folyamatokra utalnak. Az irtások azonban már a magyar nyelvű lakosság ideérkezése előtt megindultak, vagy az Árpád-kor első felében, a vegyes szláv-magyar lakosság idején. Erre látszik utalni a Szécsény helynév, amely irtásra utaló szláv etimológiájú helynév.<sup>115</sup>

A szomszédos Kászon-székből hasonló helyneveket, adatokat sorolhatunk. Felső faluban (ma Kászonfelfő) 1692-ben *Halas to-t* említene, a 17–18. századtól meg Csere, Nyr hát, Gyertyános, Aszalvány Byk allia, Demeter-vesze, Gyertyános bükke, Ken-csere, Nagy-csere, helyneveket.<sup>116</sup>

Altízen hasonlóképpen: Aszalvány-fej, -pataka, Égett-vész, Eger, Fa-aszalás, Gyertyános, Mező-vész, Nyáras, Csere-ponk, Nyíres.<sup>117</sup> Impéri környezetre utaló helynevek: *hegyes chiere oldala-ban* (1592); Nyáras, halsto (1641); *Szász Vágása, Csere oldala, Csere hágó, egi pusztá malom ... az Pap kapujanal* (1656); *Likadon is Vaion egy nagy Tanorok kertem ... Mihaly Istvannal orottúk es kerestűk* (1660). A falutól távol eső területeket a természet kezdte már a 17. században is visszahódítani: *Hirmos Tetein egy regi parlagot eszténa helyett mellyet az erdő fel kezdet venni* (1698).<sup>118</sup> Egy újabb összeírásból ismertek: Aszalvány pataka, Aszalvánban (1780), Bor vésze (1730), Égettvész, Orotás, Rakottyás (1731 e.) helynevek.<sup>119</sup> Jakabfalván 1669-től adatolhatóak erdők nevei: *Gyertyanos neuw helyben, nyir haton*; Csere-ódal (1774).<sup>120</sup> Far Bik alatt (1619), Nyíres Vász töve (1708), Szász vágása (1774).<sup>121</sup> Az újfalvi történeti helynévanyagban a 18. században Kűs Bűk, Cserere hagoban, Egres Nyaka, Veszes, Varga Nyíre, Aszaló, Vágás Too, Csére alatt nevekkkel találkozhatunk.<sup>122</sup> A falu jelenkori és történeti helynévanyagában ezek nagyrésze visszaköszön: Aszalvány (1772), Csere-hágó, -alatt, -völgy (1698, 1713), Jáhoró-Juharos, Nyáras-sorka (1772), Ótovány, Rakottyás, veres -vész.<sup>123</sup>

## ÖSSZEGZÉS

A demográfiai növekedés és a nagyobb földterületet igénylő kétfordulós határhazsnálat egyik következménye volt, hogy a medence alsóbb részein egykor bizonyára terjedelmes erdők fokozatosan kezdtek visszaszorulni, sőt eltűnni. Az erdőhatár visszaszorulása a 18. század végétől

a térképeken is végigkövethető.<sup>124</sup> A középkori erdők nyomait a 16–17. századi forrásokban már több esetben csak helynévként találjuk meg, ilyenek a szép számmal adatolható aratás, irtás, orotás, vész neveket viselő szántók. A régi erdők összetételét a helynevek meglehetősen

<sup>114</sup> TARISZNYÁS 1982, 45–59.

<sup>115</sup> KNIEZSA 1948.

<sup>116</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 140–141.

<sup>117</sup> HINTS 2000, 42–50.

<sup>118</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 141–145.

<sup>119</sup> HINTS 2000, 29–41.

<sup>120</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 145–146.

<sup>121</sup> HINTS 2000, 18–28.

<sup>122</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 147–149.

<sup>123</sup> HINTS 2000, 3–17.

<sup>124</sup> JÁNOSI 2004.



jól rekonstruálják, ezek alapján a 16–17. század előtt, sőt néha még ekkor is többfelé számolhatunk lombhullató erdőkkel, ligetekkel. Ha tehát a 17. századi fafajra, erdőre, irtásra utaló dűlőnevek már szántókra, kaszálókra vonatkoznak, akkor az irtásokat már jóval korábban, feltehetően a 15–16. században elkezdték-elvégezték. A számtalan csere összetételű helynév alapján Csíkban az erdők jelentős része tölgyes volt a 17. századig.<sup>125</sup> A jelenkorig a tölgyesek egyik járulékos hasznosítása a makkoltatás. A 17. századi gyergyói végzésekben kifejezetten említik az ottani Nagy Rét nevű faluközi mezőn található Égett Tölgyfa erdő kapcsán a makkoltatást.<sup>126</sup> Disznótartás céljaira az árterek is jól hasznosíthatóak voltak. Ezek ismeretében helyi, csíki írott adat híján is bizonyosak lehetünk a középkori sertéskondák létében. Az erdők eltűnésével a makkoltatást a szomszédos területek erdeiben igyekeztek megoldani.<sup>127</sup>

Az irtások eredményeként a medence Oltmenti alsó részein a 16–17. századra már biztosan kialakult egy nagy összefüggő nyílt rész, melyen több falu határa osztozott, és amelyet több ízben Nagy-mezőnek neveztek, noha rajta még több erdőfolt is létezett.<sup>128</sup> Felcsíkon a Rákostól Taplocáig terjedő nyílt terület szintén ezt a nevet viselte, de alcsíki társához hasonlóan itt is számolhatunk erdős részekkel.<sup>129</sup> A szinte azonos földrajzi viszonyokkal rendelkező Gyergyói-medencében nagyon hasonló folyamatok játszódtak le. Ott már 1662-ben, illetve 1674-ben is több falu közösen igyekezett szabályozni a falvak között található Égett Tölgyfa (!) nevezetű erdőt, illetve a Nagy Rét használatát.<sup>130</sup>

A falvak közötti erdők sorsát a mezőgazdasági területek terjeszkedése pecsételte meg, amit csak fokozott a felső utasítás kötelezettsége.

Imreh István említi, hogy 1771-ben, illetve 1776-ban Carato ezredes elrendelte a falvakhoz közel eső erdők irtását és szántófölddé alakítását. Noha a falutörvények egyértelműen jelzik, hogy a helyi közösségek ragaszkodtak erdeikhez, óvták azokat, akadtak olyan helyi hivatalosságok is, akik ezzel szemben foglaltak állást. 1801-ben írták, hogy *abban kellen utat és módot találni, miként az szükség felett való és gazdasági előmentének akadályára szolgáló erdők pusztítathatnának*. Szerintük nem hogy akadályozni, hanem ösztönözni kellene az erdők pusztítóit, hogy a szénafüvek és legelők helyei növekedjenek.<sup>131</sup> Ez olyannyira sikerrel járt, hogy a 18. század végi katonai térkép tanúsága szerint a falvak közötti, medencealji erdők teljesen eltűntek. Az alcsíki részek 18. századi állapotát, illetve az erdőtakarónak azt követő változásait az újabb térképek alapján próbálták modellezni.<sup>132</sup> A csereerdők kiirtásának egyenes következménye lett, hogy a 18. században makkoltatni már csak más vidékek erdeiben lehetett.<sup>133</sup>

Az erdő azonban még a 19. század elején is fontos megélhetési forrása volt az ittenieknek, a korabeli urbáriumok, parasztvallomások alapján a térség lakói leginkább a fafeldolgozásból és az állattartásból éltek. Ekkor még jó kiegészítő élelmezési lehetőség volt a halászat és a vadászat is.<sup>134</sup>

Az éghajlat általános lehűlésével a 16. századot követően egyre inkább megváltoztak a feltételek. Az 1820-as parasztvallomások alapján kiderül, hogy nem csak Erdélyben, hanem az egész Székelyföldön belül is itt voltak a legalcsonyabb termésátlagok, egy elvetett szem után jó esetben három-négyet takarítottak be. Noha a gyümölcsök, zöltségek nem vagy alig teremtek meg, a gabonaneműek között mindegyik feltűnik a búza is. A két nyomásban művelt

<sup>125</sup> Fentiek, illetve az alább még közölt adatok fényében az itteni egykori tölgyesek létét megkérdőjelező és mindenkor fenyődominanciát feltételező vélemények (pl. NYÁRÁDI 1929, 562–564.) meghaladottnak tekinthetők.

<sup>126</sup> GARDA 1999, 81.

<sup>127</sup> BENKŐ 1778, 204–205.

<sup>128</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 7–9.

<sup>129</sup> SZABÓ T. 2006, 9.

<sup>130</sup> GARDA 1999, 81.

<sup>131</sup> IMREH 1983, 180.

<sup>132</sup> JÁNOSI 2004.

<sup>133</sup> BENKŐ 1778 (1999)

<sup>134</sup> TAKÁCS 2002, 6.



szántóföldeken a búza mellett, rozst, árpát, zabot, lencsét, lent, kendert, borsót, fuszulykát (babot), káposztát termeltek, illetve több nemét a veteményeknek.<sup>135</sup>

Az állattartás kiemelkedő szerepét természetesen nem lehet tagadni, aligha véletlen, hogy míg a 17. században a vármegyék esetében az adókulcs az „eke” volt, a székelyeknél ez a „vonó marha.” A teherviselés megállapítása tehát az igavonásra alkalmas nagyállatok száma alapján történt.<sup>136</sup> Még száz év múlva is azt vallották a csíkiak, hogy a dombon, hegyen levő szántókat négy ökörrrel lehet csak megszántani.<sup>137</sup>

Az aszó helynév és száraz völgyek kapcsán kell megemlítenünk, hogy az erdők eltűnésével több patak is elapadt és ezzel együtt gyakoribbá válhattak az áradások és felgyorsult az erózió. A régi, mára már eltűnt vagy érré apadt patakok vízhozama lehetővé tette, hogy majd minden csíki faluban több malom is működött. Ezekre már nem csak a 16. századtól adatolható helynevek, de még a 18. század végi első katonai felmérés is egyértelműen utal. A környezeti rekonstrukciók fontos eszköze a lelőhelyek topográfiai vizsgálata és ezek összevetése a tájrégészeti elemekkel, hiszen ezek az adatok kölcsönösen megerősítetik egymást. Néhány példa.

A Csíkszentkirály–Karimósarka lelőhely ma az Olt magas terasza és egy mély, alig csordogáló csermelyt rejtő völgy által bezárt háromszög alapú területen fekszik, csupasz domboldalak alján. Mai szemmel nézve érthetetlen, hogy a mindenfelől magas, meredek teraszokkal szegélyezett területen hogyan alakulhatott ki település, hogyan jutottak vízhez az ott lakók. Ha azonban feltételezzük, hogy a környező dombok egykor erdővel borítottak voltak, amint erre helynevek utalnak, akkor adódik a következtetés, hogy a domboldal vízmegtartó képessége sokkalta jobb lehetett a mainál. A beerdősödött domboldalból fakadó forrás nyilván természetes, lankásabb (gyökerekkel megkötött) mederben kanyargott és nem volt olyan gyors lefolyású, így eróziós hatása is kisebb volt. Feltételezésem szerint tehát

az erdők ismeretlen korban, de nagy valószínűséggel a 13–14. századot követő kivágása vezetett oda, hogy a talajvíz szintje leereszkedett, a csapadék immár gyorsabban zúdult le a környező dombokról és beásta magát az amúgy is homokos altalajba. Így keletkezett az a meredek mély völgy, amelynek martjaiból ma érthetetlen magasságban kerülnek elő, omlanak le az egykor patakmenti házak, objektumok lazább betöltésű gödrei. Ráadásul az erdőtakaró megszűnésével a domb eróziója, a talajmozgás is felgyorsult, így a víz és a szél hatására az alsóbb részekben ma 100 cm-t is meghaladó régészetiileg steril homokréteg fedti, az egykor felszínre épített, és a felszínbe beleásott régészeti objektumok fölé.

Az erózió felgyorsulását és a völgy geomorfológiájának drasztikus átalakulását régészeti megfigyelések is igazolják. A domb aljában, közvetlenül a főút mellett 2015-ben a patak jelenlegi medrétől mélyebben (!) elhelyezkedő telken közel másfél méter vastag steril homokréteg alatt kerültek elő 16–17. századi házhelyek és leletek. Ezek elhelyezkedése egyértelműen jelzi, hogy a jelenleg alig csordogáló vízfolyás a 17. századot követően hihetetlen mennyiségű tiszta homokot mosott le és terített szét a térségben.

A domb túloldalán a mindszenti tízesek kialakulásában is fontos szerepet játszhattak az egykor jelentősebb mellékpatakok, melyekre ma szinte csak a felszín utal, víz már alig folyik bennük. Ezek mentén, illetve ezeknek a völgyben folyó „fő” pataknak az összefolyásainál jöttek létre az úgynevezett tízesek.

Egy eltűnt patak létrejöttére utalhat a Csíkszentimre–Zöldfák lelőhely is, amely ugyan az Olt árterének a szélén fekszik, de környezetében ma nincs állandó vízfolyás. A középkori települések azonban szinte mindig befolyó patakok ártéri torkolatának környékén jöttek létre, és a környék felszíni formái legalábbis valószínűvé teszik egy korábbi, kiszáradt patak létét. A kissé délebbi Bedecs egykor bővizű patak mentén alakult ki, ami a 18. századi térképeken még látható, de mára gyakorlatilag nyoma veszett. A

<sup>135</sup> TAKÁCS 2002, 6.

<sup>136</sup> PÁL-ANTAL 2009, 13.

<sup>137</sup> TAKÁCS 2002.



19–20. század fordulóján olykor még áradással is fenyegette az ott lakókat.<sup>138</sup> Egyértelműbb a helyzet a Csíkszentkirály-Örház lelőhelyen, ahol mély bevágódások jelzik, hogy egykor bővizű patak(ok) alakították ki a felszíni formákat.

A belterületen azonosított középkori lelőhelyek gyakran olyan eltűnt egykori vízfolyások, patakok mellett találhatók, melyekre ma csak a felszíni formák, illetve csak a régi térképek, illetve helynevek utalnak. Ilyen az erdőtakaró megszűnésével kiszáradt vízmenti lelőhelyeket azonosítottam Kotormány, Rákos, Göröcsfalva, Kozmás, és Szensimon területén is.

Látható, az önmagukban megmagyarázhatatlan régészeti megfigyelések nélkül több talajmorfológiai, környezetrégészeti kérdés került volna el a figyelmünket, de adataik összevetése kölcsönösen kiegészítik, magyarázzák az elsőre függetlennek tűnő jelenségeket.

Az áttekintés egyik következtetése az, hogy a Csíki-medencében egy időben, egyszerre volt jelen a kétféle tájtípuson a települések hálózata. A falvak egy része a patakmenti, hegylábi település, más részük a mocsaras ártér szélén, illetve síkságon elhelyezkedő falvak, így párhuzamosan folytatható kettős-hármas életmód: hegyvidéki, „síksági” és ártéri gazdálkodás együtt.

Ugyanakkor a középkor kései századaitól adatolható növénytakaró arra utal, hogy a középkor folyamán olyan klíma lehetett, amely lehetővé tette a lombhullató erdők, közte a tölgyesek kialakulását és fennmaradását a 17. századig. Adatok, illetve különféle, többféle markert használó rekonstrukciós modellek hiányában ugyan ezt kézzelfoghatóvá tenni elég nehéz, de az átlaghőmérsékletek és a csapadékmennyiségek olyan értékeivel kell számolnunk, amelyek a magas tengerszint feletti magasság ellenére is elég kedvező volt ahhoz, hogy a medencében tölgyesek és egyéb lombhullató erdők, társulások alakuljanak ki.

Ennek a kedvezőbb klímának nyilván nem csak a növénytakaróra, de a korabeli településtörténetre is döntő hatása lehetett. Magyarán

bizonyosnak tűnik, hogy a középkor folyamán jóval (?) enyhébb éghajlati viszonyok uralkodtak a Csíki-medencében.

Jelzésértékű, hogy az első csíki, igazán jelentős középkori famaradványokat eredményező régészeti ásatás során is tölgyfából készült talpfés boronagerendák kerültek elő egy 14. századi objektumból Csíksomlyón.<sup>139</sup> Azaz ekkoriban a felszíni házak még tölgyfából (is?) készültek.

Ennek fényében egyáltalán nem tekinthető reálisnak az a rekonstrukció, amely az ezredforduló környékén csupán jegenyefenyő-bükk társulásokkal számol a térségben, és ez alapján von le településtörténeti következtetéseket: „A Székelyföld lucfenyvesével övezett medencéi ugyancsak gyéren megszállt gyepterületnek tekinthetők.”<sup>140</sup> A rekonstruált lombhullató, vegyes társulások alapján valószínűsíthető, hogy a korabeli mezőgazdaság feltételei, a vegetációs időszak, a termesztendő növények skálája és hozama nem különbözött olyan élesen a belső-erdélyi területek viszonyaitól, mint ahogy az a 18. századtól napjainkig végigkövethető. Így már kevésbé szorul magyarázatra, hogy miért nem volt településtörténeti szempontból klimatikus, és így gazdasági akadálya annak, hogy a Csíki-medencében a nyugatabbi területekkel párhuzamos településtörténeti folyamatok menjenek végbe be. Itt utalnunk kell azokra az új eredményekre, melyek szerint a 10–13. században alapvetően a téli félév volt a mainál enyhébb, a növénytermesztés szempontjából kritikus tavaszi fagyos napok száma csökkent, és így a vegetációs időszak hosszabbá vált úgy, hogy a téli és nyári félév közötti anomáliák csökkentek.<sup>141</sup> Ennek jelentőségét a zárt, hegyközi Csíki-medence esetében aligha kell hangsúlyozni.

Az itt rekonstruált kedvezőbb klimatikus viszonyok nem állnak magukban, kiválóan illeszkednek a klímátörténeti kutatások európai adataihoz, melyek szerint az ezredfordulót követő évszázadok éghajlata, a „középkori optimum” során kiegyensúlyozottabb és enyhébb volt. Ekkora tehető a gabonatermesztésnek

<sup>138</sup> VITOS 2002, 171.

<sup>139</sup> Darvas Lóránt közöletlen ásatása a csíksomlyói Fodor-ház udvarán (2014).

<sup>140</sup> GYÖRFFY-ZÓLYOMI 1994, 20–23.

<sup>141</sup> ZATYKÓ 2010, 842.



a sarkkört is átlépő északi expanziója, a jóval délebbi Keleti-Kárpátok medencéiben bizonyára a jelenleginél jóval kedvezőbb éghajlat uralkodhatott.<sup>142</sup>

Talán nem csak a technológiai fejlődés importja, hanem az 1300-tól erőteljesen lehűlő éghajlat is közrejátszott abban, hogy térségünkben is elterjedtek a különféle fűtőberendezések, szemes- utóbb csempekályhák. Ez a lehűlés északon a kis optimum idején benépesült hegyvidéki agrártájak elnéptelenedéséhez vezetett.<sup>143</sup>

A középkort követően azonban a környezeti viszonyok megváltoztak. Felcsíkon az évszázadokig működő madarasi fejedelmi vashámor faigénye, a mezőgazdasági területek növelése miatt a medence belső részeiről teljesen eltűntek az erdők, a 18. század végi katonai felmérésen már mutatóban sem látni erdőket a falvak között. A lokális változás mellett azonban globális folyamatok is hatottak, a 16. század végén kezdődött az úgynevezett kis jégkorszak,<sup>144</sup> amely az antropogén hatásokkal együtt jelentősen megváltoztatta a Csíki-medence erdeinek kiterjedését és összetételét.

A lehűlés felerősítette és /vagy létrehozta a zárt hegyközi medencékben a szélcsendesebb tavaszi, őszi időszakokban rendszeressé váló termikus inverziót, a hosszas ködös periódusokat, aminek következtében a vegetációs időszak

lerövidült, Csík és Gyergyó, a szomszédos vidékekhez képest is hangsúlyosan hideg vidékké változott.<sup>145</sup> Talán az is megkockáztatható, hogy a Csíki-medence esetében magas elhelyezkedése, hegyekkel körülzárt jellege miatt a bekövetkező éghajlati változásoknak itt drasztikusabb következményei voltak, mint másutt. Ennek „hasznát” a kevésbé igényes, hidegtűrő fajok látták. A kiirtott lombhullatók helyén a természetes visszaerdősödés, már ahol volt ilyen, új fajokkal zajlott le: a lombhullatók, tölgyesek helyét alapvetően a fenyőfélék vették át. Ebből adódik, hogy számtalan -csere összetételű helynévvel rendelkező dűlőrészben ma vagy nincs erdő, vagy csak fenyőerdők találhatók. A fenyő a talaj összetételét is megváltoztatja, így oda a későbbiekben sem tudnak lombhullatók visszatelepülni. A ma tapasztalható fenyő monokultúra tehát nem azonosítható a középkori állapotokkal. A lehűlés nyomán, a lombhullató erdőkkel szinkronban, visszaszorulhatott több olyan gazdaságilag hasznosítható természetes és termesztett növényféle (zöldségek, gyümölcsök), amely a középkorban még általánosan elterjedt lehetett. Ennek bizonyítására azonban pollenelemzésekre, és hiteles régészeti feltárásokból származó további növényi maradványok (pl. szenült magok, iszapolásból származó növényrészek, fitolitok) vizsgálatára lenne szükség.

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<sup>142</sup> BRÁZDIL 2003, 206–209; RÁCZ 2001, 55–56; RÁCZ 2008.

<sup>143</sup> RÁCZ 2001, 59.

<sup>144</sup> RÁCZ L. 1993; RÁCZ L. 2003; RÁCZ L. 2008.

<sup>145</sup> Amikor 1764-ben Michael Conrad von Heidendorf osztrák parancsnok Csíkból Háromszékre tette át székhelyét, „Szibériából a Paradicsomba lépett át” ld. IMREH–PATAKI 1992, 146.



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## DESPRE MEDIUL NATURAL AL BAZINULUI CIUCULUI ÎN EVUL MEDIU (Rezumat)

Bazinul Ciucului este cunoscut azi ca fiind colțul rece a țării, cu păduri dominate exclusiv de rășinoase, imaginea recentă fiind deseori reproiectată și în privința evului mediu. Datele arheologice nu confirmă însă această presupunere, în complexele secolelor III–XV d. Ch. găsim deseori urme carbonizate de stejari. Stejarul a fost folosit și la construcțiile bisericilor și conacelor medievale datate cu metoda dendrocronologiei. În secolele III–IV respectiv XVI–XVII sunt documentate numeroase dovezi ale prelucrării intensive a minereurilor de fier, activitate care necesită în cantități uriașe material lemnos de esență tare, mai ales speciile de fag și stejar. Prezența pădurilor de stejari se reflectă și în toponimia regiunii și firește și în izvoarele scrise ale secolelor XVI–XIX, respectiv în analizele de polen a cercetărilor legate de istoria mediului. Concluziile principale ale articolului sunt următoarele: condițiile climaterice mai favorabile din epoca postromană și din evul mediu au favorizat habitatul uman și au creat

un mediu natural asemănător zonelor mai joase și mai centrale din Transilvania. Pădurile de stejari din interiorul bazinului au fost defrișate în continuu, apogeul fiind în cursul secolelor XVII–XVIII. Odată cu răcirea climei efectele acestea în depresiunea Ciucului au fost mai accentuate din cauza altitudinii și a inversiunii termice. În aceste condiții mai aspre concurența dintre specii a fost câștigată de pădurile de rășinoase. Compoziția și caracterul florei, respectiv aspectul și rata de împădurire a depresiunilor intramontane din Carpații Răsăriteni (Gheorgheni, Ciuc, Cașin) s-a format în ceea ce vedem azi în urma unui proces complex a cărei componente principale erau: impactul antropogenic (defrișările extinse), răcirea climei („micul glacial”) și concurența dintre specii (rășinoase versus stejar și fag). Din această cauză, folosirea în cursul cercetărilor istorice și arheologice, a datelor recente ale mediului, pentru interpretarea habitatului din veacurile precedente, va conduce la concluzii eronate.





# TOBACCO CLAY PIPES FROM RUPEA CASTLE AND THEIR HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Oana TODA\*

*This study is aimed at the publication and contextualization of the few tobacco clay pipes discovered in Rupea castle between 2010 and 2012. The small finds, dated from the 17<sup>th</sup> until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, are representative for a much controversial daily habit of the Early Modern that met great enthusiasm among the population and censorship from the official authorities. The rapid spread of smoking is not as much visible in the archival sources as in the number of smoking accessories excavated by archaeologists. The small lot from Rupea, even though fragmentary, contains 'Turkish-type' artifacts, possibly some hybrid 'Turkish-Hungarian' ones and late 'Austro-Hungarian' pieces.*

**Keywords:** 17<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries, smoking, Turkish influence, archaeological excavation, rules and regulations, Transylvanian Saxons

**Cuvinte cheie:** secolele XVII–XIX, fumat, influență turcească, săpătură arheologică, legi și regulamente, sași din Transilvania

## INTRODUCTION

During the past two decades, the publication of a handful of scientific papers marked the onset for the research of tobacco consumption and of its associated material culture in the Principality of Transylvania<sup>1</sup> and the neighboring areas.<sup>2</sup> Researcher A. M. Gruia highlighted the need for systematical publication of the lots of tobacco clay pipes and related accessories that were archaeologically excavated, and for the reevaluation of some popular misconceptions when it comes to their identification and dating.<sup>3</sup> Valuable steps were carried out especially in the case of

Timișoara and Oradea, as several studies revealed the pipe typology for the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries based on consistent archaeological groups of such artifacts with well-documented contexts of discovery. For the most part, however, the data availability on the smoking accessories in the Principality is tributary to the personal choice of the archaeologist. Given the highly lacunar state of research in the field of Modern Period archaeology, these finds present a late dating for the majority of archaeologists and do not meet enough scientific interest.<sup>4</sup> Only few researchers

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<sup>1</sup> RUSU 1998; SZENTE 2009; GRUIA 2012a; GRUIA 2012b; GRUIA 2012c; GRUIA 2013; DEMJÉN 2018.

<sup>2</sup> EMŐDI 1998; MARTA 2002; KOPECZNY–DINCĂ 2011; GAȘPAR 2016; KONDOROSY 2014; KONDOROSY 2017; TRANDAFIR ET AL. 2017 (the situation in Oradea was mostly discussed for the interval of the Ottoman occupation). In Moldavia and Wallachia, with a couple of exceptions (e.g.: ENE 2013; HÂNCEANU 2013; BILAVSCHI 2017), the subject was discussed incidentally, as part of larger monographic works or archaeological reports. See, for example: ANDRONIC–NEAMȚU 1964, 425, 427–428; ANDRONIC ET AL. 1967, 265–270; NEAMȚU ET AL. 1980, 128, 247.

<sup>3</sup> GRUIA 2013, 41–48.

<sup>4</sup> A notable exception in the case of the quarantine at Prișca mtn. peak (Harghita County): DEMJÉN 2018.



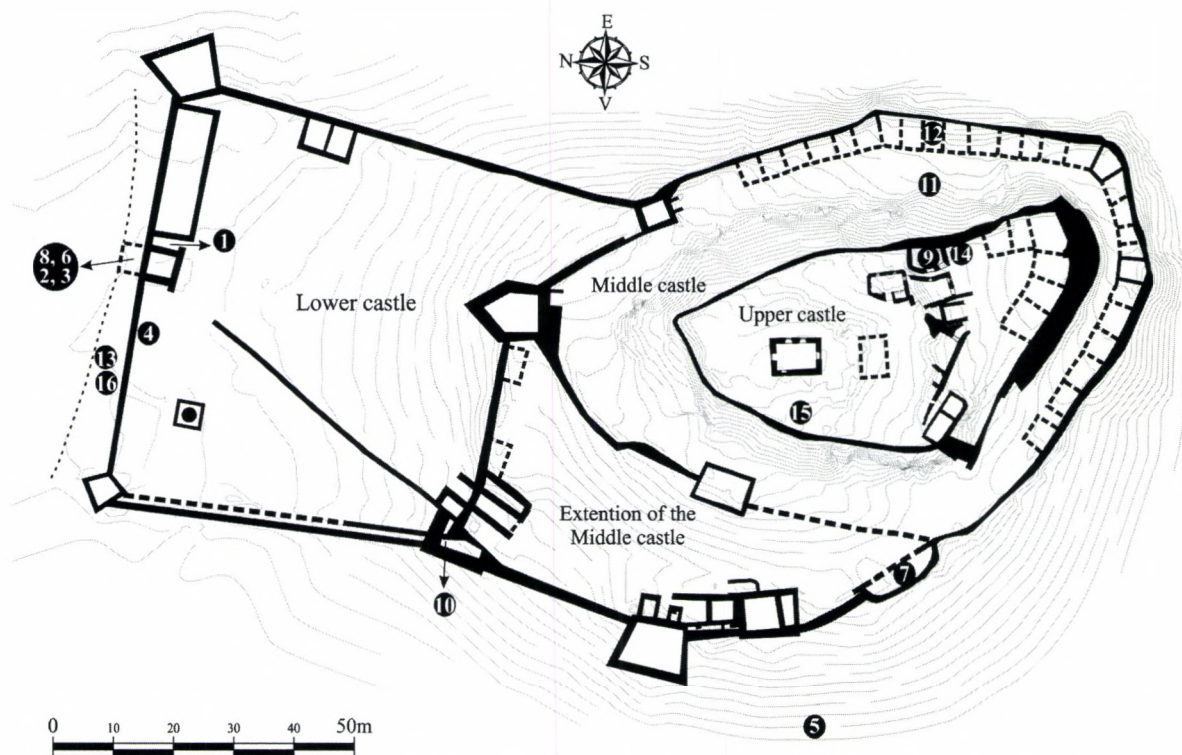


Fig. 1. Ground plan of the Rupea castle and the discovery places of the tobacco clay pipes (nos. correspond to the catalogue entries).

thought it relevant to publish or list these artifacts among their retrieved discoveries as part of site monographs, reports, or exhibition catalogues.<sup>5</sup>

The aim of this paper is to introduce into the scholarly literature and contextualize a small group of tobacco clay pipes recovered during the archaeological excavations conducted between

2010 and 2012 in the castle of Rupea (Braşov County).<sup>6</sup> The archaeological interventions were determined by the restoration work undertaken at that time on the entire fortified complex and large lots of material from the Modern Period were recovered, some also containing the present category of small finds.

## BUILT STRUCTURES FROM THE EARLY MODERN UNTIL THE CASTLE'S DEPOPULATION

The last chapter in the active history of the fortification is relevant to this study, as it determined many changes in the ground plan of the architectural complex and set a context for the bulk of the retrieved archaeological material. The 14<sup>th</sup> century core of the royal fortification,

came under Saxon administration in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and, afterward, underwent several construction phases. By the Early Modern, large parts of the old structures were also repaired or rebuilt and the interior spatial organization, along with the precinct's fortified components,

<sup>5</sup> E.g.: KLUSCH 1997, 65; RUSU 1998, 60, cat. 152; MARTA 2002, 131–133; MARCU ISTRATE 2009, 62, cat. 326–330; DOBROTĂ–CODREA 2015, 145–149, 162, cat. 49–58. The results of several archaeological investigations, possibly indicating the activity of local workshops in Alba Iulia and Cluj-Napoca, have not been published yet (GRUIA 2012a, 262).

<sup>6</sup> The excavation work was coordinated by Dr. Adrian A. Rusu, researcher at the Institute of Archaeology and Art History in Cluj-Napoca, to whom I would like to extend my gratitude for the permission to publish this material and some of the excavation results.



were well-individualized (Fig. 1).<sup>7</sup> It was during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries that the last building additions were made and when frequent upkeep work was documented. The entire lower castle precinct, part of the middle one, and most of the inner houses and rooms were built during these two centuries<sup>8</sup> (Fig. 1).

The property transfer, taking place in favor of the Saxons, mainly caused this late evolution. Hence, the new administration had a huge saying in all the ulterior developments of this ensemble, as the fortification also became the administrative center of the Saxon Seat of Rupea. The presence of an active local community, along with the political instability of the entire region during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, determined and accelerated the spatial and functional

mutations of the castle itself and the function of some of the interior buildings (e.g. the public and private houses and rooms<sup>9</sup>). Nevertheless, the political and military disarray set path for short-time changes in the control of the fortification, driven by military causes (e.g. the army of Prince Gabriel Báthory in 1611, or the Habsburg forces in 1692–1701), that influenced its destiny, the construction work and, consequently, the material traces the archaeologist is faced with. However, most of the debris and demolition layers from the castle can be dated to the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the spaces were gradually abandoned, the castle ceased to play an active defensive role and its smaller and precarious structures were quarried for building material.<sup>10</sup>

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXTS OF THE TOBACCO CLAY PIPES

Inside this net of constructions and late building phases stand the artifacts described in the article. As indicated by Fig. 1, the 16 retrieved tobacco clay pipes<sup>11</sup> (Pl. 1) come from various areas of the fortification, starting with the castle's dry moat and drawbridge pit in front of the northern defensive line, and ending with the most recent deposition layers of the upper precinct. The majority of the pieces come from demolition phases that were often prone to secondary disturbances, hence ending up in mixed contexts, some with a late dating if compared to their production and usage period. The most relevant archaeological contexts will be discussed in detail, as these can be more accurately dated based on the small finds and the archival data.

Four of the clay pipes (cat. 6, 8, 2, and 3) were found in a closed context in the lower castle, namely in the fill of the drawbridge pit (turned

into a refuse pit) located right in front of the gate tower. Two more (cat. 13, 16) come from the fill of the castle's dry moat. This was the main entrance area into the fortification by the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The drawbridge pit (Fig. 2) was archaeologically sectioned in 2010 and half of it was excavated along with small parts of the castle moat. It was a rectangular enclosure made of stone and mortar that stretched in front of the gate tower, with an inner surface of approximately 9.6 m<sup>2</sup> (3.2 × 3 m) and a maximum depth of 2.5 m.

Several archival data can account for the construction and use of these defensive structures: the pit, the moat, and the associated drawbridge. The account registers of the Rupea Seat clearly show that the precinct elements of the northern side were built by the middle of the 1600s and the castle's drawbridge was first mentioned in 1663.<sup>12</sup> It was probably put up a

<sup>7</sup> For the early history of Rupea castle and the main construction phases, see especially: TEUTSCH 1883; MÜLLER 1900, *passim*; recently, FABINI 2002, 588–591; MARCU ISTRATE 2010, 664–665.

<sup>8</sup> A list of the recorded construction work based on the account registers of the seat and of the magistrate's protocols, in: MÜLLER 1900, 26–30.

<sup>9</sup> For the construction and late use of the houses in the upper and middle precincts, see: TODA 2019.

<sup>10</sup> A detailed presentation of these episodes in: MÜLLER 1900, 28–30.

<sup>11</sup> One such artifact (covered in green glaze) was discovered during the trial excavation from 2005 (PASCU-TOMA 2005, 310), but it was not included in this publication.

<sup>12</sup> MÜLLER 1900, 27.





Fig. 2. Image of the drawbridge pit during excavation.

few decades earlier, together with the tower, as their foundations belong to the same construction phase. In 1731 and 1732, the wooden structure was rebuilt and one can assume that the pit was still in use at that time, given that a bridge was still needed to reach the gate.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, and quite unexplainably, the 1735 *veduta* by Konrad von Weiss does not show any defensive structures in front of the northern entrance of the castle.<sup>14</sup> However, in a late account B. Orbán noted a bridge and a moat that once functioned in front of the northern precinct wall.<sup>15</sup> Judging from his choice of words, one can only assume these were no longer in use by the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The archaeological finds from the pit range from the 17<sup>th</sup> until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, predominantly during the latter, and consist of domestic discarded material. Additionally, 19<sup>th</sup> century material was identified in the castle ditch, which probably filled up at a slower rate than the pit. Most likely, the two components of the northern

defensive structure were filled up with disposed garbage from the castle sometime after the 1730s and before the visit of B. Orbán at the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The silver coin issued in 1640 by Georg Wilhelm of Brandenburg found in the top layer of the drawbridge pit cannot be used to date the filling and decommissioning of the structure as this clearly predates the archival recordings of a still functional drawbridge. The preponderance of the 18<sup>th</sup> century tableware is connected to the fact that at least part of the market town's population still lived or took refuge inside the castle and used the small houses located there.<sup>16</sup>

Two smoking pipes come from inside the lower castle, catalogue numbers 1 and 4. These were found in what appeared to be surface deposition layers of earth and household material (tableware, stove tiles) in the courtyard of the fourth precinct, in rather irrelevant archaeological contexts. The same remark is valid for pipe number 5 in the catalogue, as it was retrieved from the topsoil on the western slope of the castle, possibly originating from inside the fortification, but ending up in a completely irrelevant context.

The middle castle was the discovery area of four socketed pipes (cat. 7, 11, 12, and 10). Number 10 was recovered from the leveling of the basement of the Ungra tower and was most likely relocated there together with the earth used for the filling, hence in a secondary position. Pipe number 7 was discovered in a demolition layer next to what appears to be a former barbican and the early entrance to the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries' castle, in a context that can only generally be dated to the Modern Period. These two contexts were probably the result of late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century demolition works. The sources record that in 1809,<sup>17</sup> following a period of decay and deliberate quarrying, several elements of the castle, including the ones in question, were intentionally demolished to prevent dangerous collapses and accidents.

<sup>13</sup> MÜLLER 1900, 29.

<sup>14</sup> MOL Térképtár, G I h 160, no. 6.

<sup>15</sup> ORBÁN 1868, 192.

<sup>16</sup> The last episode when the population of the market town took refuge inside the castle was in 1789 (FABINI 2002, 591).

<sup>17</sup> MÜLLER 1900, 30.



Pipe number 12 was found in a floor leveling of the basement of one of the small houses ranging along the eastern precinct wall. The production and use period of the material trapped in that particular layer can be roughly dated to the late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, and one knows that the respective houses were active in the same interval and demolished sometime during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The last pipe retrieved from the middle castle (cat. 11) most likely originates from the upper precinct as it was found in a waste layer accumulated at the base of the upper basalt cliff, on the southeastern side. From inside the upper castle precinct, from rather unclear demolition layers and topsoil, come the rest of the artifacts in the catalogue (cat. 15, 9, 14). Apart from pipe number 15, which was found in the topsoil along the western precinct wall, the other two ended up in late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> demolition layers



Fig. 3. Image of the houses from the upper precinct.

next to (cat. 9) and on top of some of the private and public houses (cat. 14) which were still in use prior to 1790<sup>18</sup> (Fig. 3).

## DESCRIPTION AND IDENTIFICATION OF THE PIPE TYPES

Half the clay pipes discovered in Rupea castle are extremely fragmentary. This motivated a more flexible approach towards the material, instead of a rigorous typology. In the further, the pipes will be presented as part of a general classification consisting of Turkish, (Turkish)-Hungarian and Austro-Hungarian types, with specific comments on the artifacts, depending on their state of preservation.

For the majority of the pipes belonging to the *Turkish type* just the shank and ring are preserved. Three fragments belonged to pipes made of red fabric (Pl. 1/1–3). The contexts are not helpful in dating the three pipe fragments, and the analogies are hard to point out given the fragmentation. Apparently, all of them are dated earlier than the archaeological contexts they were found in. Their quality varies as the piece under the first catalogue number displays red slip and a burnished surface (Fig. 5/1), while the other two (cat. 2 and 3) only have coarse finish. Nothing can be said of pipe number 3

(Pl. 1/3), because only its torus-shaped ring was preserved. The other two however display mold-made decorations of the ring (cat. 2) and cogwheel impressions on the ring and shank (cat. 1). Based on the ring and shank profiles, they seem to belong to variants that were most likely produced inside the Ottoman Empire from the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the red fabric became dominant.<sup>19</sup> The piece with the molded ring decoration (cat. 2, Fig. 5/2) also displays a peculiar shape of the lower part of the shank, in the point where it used to meet the missing keel. This is reminiscent of one of the Turkish-type products with interrupted profiles.<sup>20</sup> However, the reduced length of the shank is different from those pieces.

For seven of the smoking pipes kaolin clay was used (Pl. 1/4–10). This fabric composition determined their light coloring, especially when burned in oxidized atmosphere, as this is the case for five of them. Their shapes, however, vary and so do their production periods.

<sup>18</sup> TODA 2019.

<sup>19</sup> GAČIĆ 2011, 25.

<sup>20</sup> RIDOVICS 2009, 67, fig. 8.



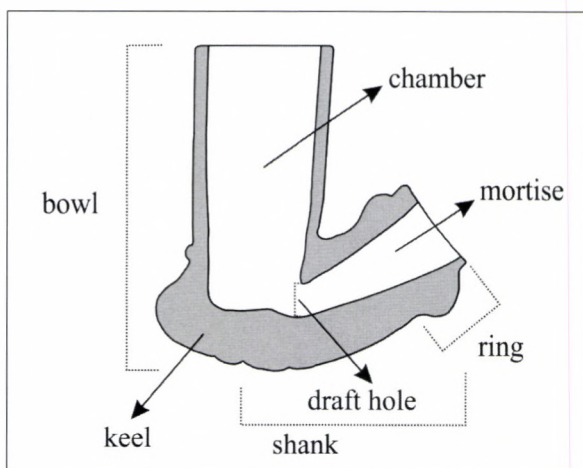


Fig. 4. Elements of a pipe head.

The undecorated pipes, dated to the 17<sup>th</sup> century (though, not entirely absent from the subsequent one), represent one of the Ottoman types. The fourth pipe find from Rupea (Pl. 1/4), could belong to this category. Even though badly preserved, it seems to be an undecorated pipe with smooth profile. Its bowl shape was either a smooth cylindrical bowl or one with a backbone line in the upper part. For a clearer image of the whole piece in its second variant, one can point to the analogies from Timișoara,<sup>21</sup> Varna (BG), Szeged,<sup>22</sup> Eger (HU),<sup>23</sup> or Hârșova.<sup>24</sup> Some other fragments come from Cluj-Napoca<sup>25</sup> and Oradea,<sup>26</sup> and two analogies were excavated in Orașul de Floci, where they were dated early, during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>27</sup>

The decorated backbone example (cat. 6, Pl. 1/6) is one of the best-preserved pieces discovered in this Saxon fortification. The stamped decoration of the bowl, representing concentric

circles with dots on the edge, has parallels in Szigetvár and Babócsa (HU), on 17<sup>th</sup> century pipes with tulip-shaped bowls.<sup>28</sup> One of these also combines the stamped motif with a linear cogwheel decoration (Fig. 5/6) on the ring. The latter was already popular during the 17<sup>th</sup> century and remained so during the following one. The backbone element of the bowl shape from Rupea can be traced back to the same period.<sup>29</sup> This piece shows significant differences from the classical undecorated backbone pipes described by A. Ridovics, as its shank is shorter, the angle between this element and the bowl is smaller, and it presents an individualized torus-shaped ring. Thus, a regional (probably later) evolution has to be considered.

Another one of the early pieces (cat. 5, Pl. 1/5) in Rupea is poorly preserved, as only the ring and part of its shank are still available for analysis. It was most likely part of a grey fabric Turkish pipe for which these cogwheel decorations (Fig. 5/5) were specific and is similar to the small pipes with semispherical keel (or, generally, interrupted profiles). The fat shape of the shank end and its stepped ring termination, along with the decoration, have a good analogy in Buda, on a piece dated during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>30</sup> But, more distant analogies of the ring (with decorated ring torus) from Jeni Palank<sup>31</sup> and the Serbian territory,<sup>32</sup> Timișoara,<sup>33</sup> and Oradea,<sup>34</sup> some in kaolin clay, other in red clay, are dated during the previous century.

The two white kaolin clay pipes with well-burnished surfaces (cat. 7 and 8) also have 18<sup>th</sup> century analogies in Cluj-Napoca.<sup>35</sup> Out of the two, the more fragmented one (Pl. 1/8) could

<sup>21</sup> KOPECZNY-DINCĂ 2011, 174–175, cat. 70, 71.

<sup>22</sup> RIDOVICS 2009, 66, fig. 4.

<sup>23</sup> KONDOROSY 2007a, 315, cat. E46.

<sup>24</sup> BILAVSCHI 2017, 230, 232, pl. III/3 and IV/8.

<sup>25</sup> GRUIA 2013, 43, fig. 7.

<sup>26</sup> MARTA 2002, pl. LXXXVII.

<sup>27</sup> ENE 2013, 200, cat. 1, 2, 9.

<sup>28</sup> KOVÁCS-RÓZSÁS 2014, 248 and 250, fig. 6/6 and 7/5.

<sup>29</sup> See above cat. 4 with analogies.

<sup>30</sup> HAIDER ET AL. 2000, 130, cat. 5g/2.

<sup>31</sup> GAÁL 2004, 287 and 288, cat. 85 and 89.

<sup>32</sup> GAČIĆ 2011, 75, cat. 1.

<sup>33</sup> KOPECZNY-DINCĂ 2011, cat 55.

<sup>34</sup> KONDOROSY 2014, 2. tab/V36, V37.

<sup>35</sup> GRUIA 2013, 43–44, fig. 8.



be a piece with either a bulgy or a semispherical bowl; it also shares similarities with shanks belonging to Baroque kaolin pipes.<sup>36</sup> Both variants could have presented flutes on the keel. The second one (Pl. 1/7) has a simple shape with a short shank and a zigzagged decoration on the lip of its cylindrical bowl (Fig. 5/7). Unfortunately, it cannot be connected to any of the consecrated pipe variants.<sup>37</sup>

The preserved shank and ring (cat. 9, Pl. 1/9) made from a kaolin based fabric of a light beige color seem to come from a *Hungarian type* pipe form with Turkish influence. Its evolution, as described by G. Tomka, determined the disappearance of the separation between the upper and lower part of the head towards the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>38</sup> The shank end of the piece from Rupea has a turban-like decoration (Fig. 5/9) and a stepped termination. Examples which seem to belong to this category were found in Șimleul Silvaniei, though this lot was not published in detail.<sup>39</sup>

Not much can be said about the undecorated pipe bowl made of kaolin clay (cat. 10, Pl. 1/10), except that its shape and coarse finishing indicate that it could be the product of a local unspecialized workshop. No analogy could be found in the surrounding territories and its smaller-sized burning chamber dates it to the 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, rather than the 19<sup>th</sup> one, when its context was dated.

The *glazed* pipes are the fewest among the discoveries in Rupea. One is a green-glazed artifact of a Turkish type (cat. 11, Pl. 1/11), though, glazing is not very common for the Ottoman products.<sup>40</sup> It has a semispherical and fluted base of the bowl, while the upper part remains cylindrical. It displays plenty of cogwheel decoration

and incisions (Fig. 5/11). Pieces with this shape and decoration were especially popular during the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>41</sup> Judging by its short shank and clean smooth cut of the missing ring, one can presume that this piece was in use after a partial fragmentation, by cutting and filing the broken end.

With its peculiar shape, pipe number 12 from Rupea (Pl. 1/12) was most likely equipped with extensions used for hanging on a thread or chain. Its bowl still preserves a protuberance that was part of a missing element (a loop for tying a rope?) and, on the opposite side, it is connected to the upper part of the shank. The molded decoration covering the entire surface, dominated by herringbone and striped ornaments (Fig. 5/12), resembles the typical ornamentation of the early Hungarian pipes.<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, no formal analogy was identified so far,<sup>43</sup> despite the fact that several pipes with hanging loops or orifices can be noted.<sup>44</sup>

The most recent of the pipe heads from Rupea are of *Austrian and Hungarian* origin, were produced in these areas, and can be dated based on the analogies at hand (cat. 13–16). These last four pieces from the catalogue are from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. All of them have high cylindrical or polygonal bowls. This was a direct consequence of the generalization of the smoking habit and of the tobacco crops in East-Central Europe, with a direct impact on the price of tobacco. Its affordability had a visible effect on the dimensions of the burning chamber.<sup>45</sup>

The pipe heads decorated with molded ‘claws’ on the keel and black fabric (cat. 13 and 14, Pl. 1/13–14) are thought to be products of the most important pipe production center of the period: Banska Štiavnica, in present day Slovakia.<sup>46</sup> Banska Štiavnica products with slightly different

<sup>36</sup> GAČIĆ 2011, 85, cat. 41.

<sup>37</sup> The zigzagged motif is presented on the ring of a 17<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman pipe from Szigetvár (HU) of a completely different shape (KOVÁCS–RÓZSÁS 2014, fig. 6/6).

<sup>38</sup> TOMKA 2000, 32, tab. 2/fig 6.

<sup>39</sup> GRUIA 2013, 112, fig. 4.

<sup>40</sup> KOPECZNY–DINCĂ 2011, 173.

<sup>41</sup> KOVÁCS–RÓZSÁS 2014, fig. 3/7 and 6/1; GAŠPAR 2016, cat. 12.

<sup>42</sup> KONDOROSY 2007b, 273, fig. 1.

<sup>43</sup> And future research on the Transylvanian finds could establish its local production, be it the case.

<sup>44</sup> KONDOROSY 2007b, cat. B196 and B182, fig. 7; GAČIĆ 2011, cat. 43; KOVÁCS–RÓZSÁS 2014, 251, fig. 7/1.

<sup>45</sup> ROBINSON 1985, 161; TOMKA 2000, 32.

<sup>46</sup> GRUIA 2012a, 265.



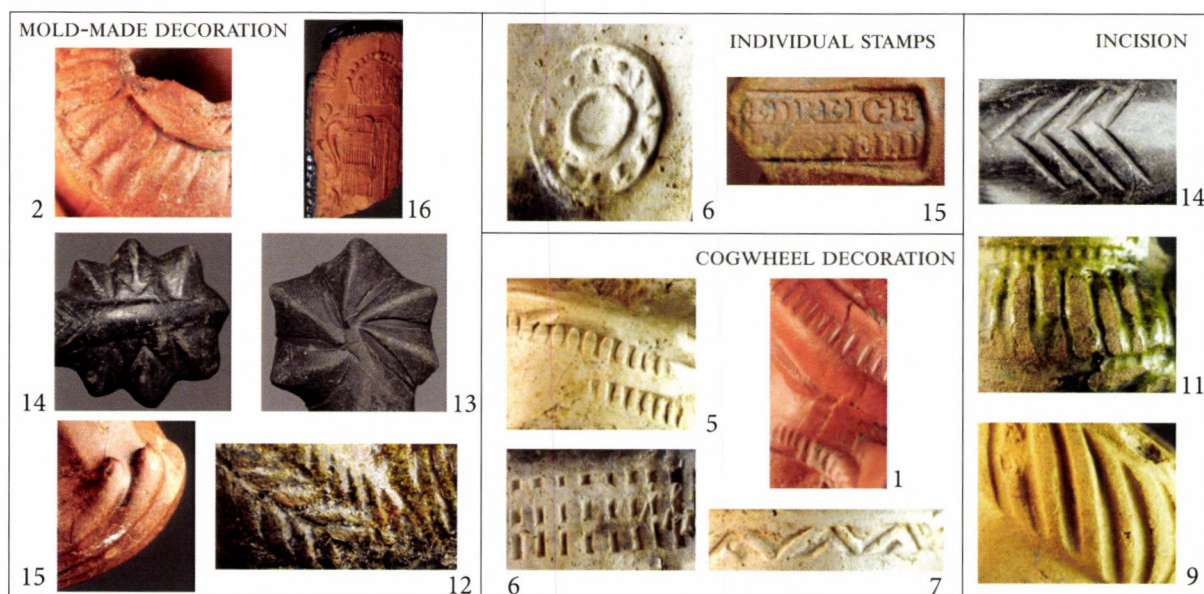


Fig. 5. Decorative motifs and production stamp present on the clay tobacco pipes (nos. correspond to the catalogue entries).

bowl and keel shapes, but with unknown context of discovery are found in Transylvanian collections, in Reghin<sup>47</sup> and Alba Iulia,<sup>48</sup> and were dated to the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The former collection of Endre Orosz from Cluj-Napoca also contains one such fragment with unknown origin.<sup>49</sup> At least two other examples have been excavated in Alba Iulia, near the Roman-Catholic Cathedral, but were dated too early.<sup>50</sup> This also might be the case for one of the published clay pipes from the Oradea fortress.<sup>51</sup>

A better dated lot containing at least 11 pieces of this type was discovered in Târgu Mureș in a fill layer inside one of the vaulted ceilings of the house formerly belonging to Márton Csiki (built around 1811).<sup>52</sup> This group is similar to pipe

number 14, but the artifacts have smaller bowls, are better polished, and some have a metallic overcoat. They can be dated to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century based on the context of discovery.<sup>53</sup> Their early 19<sup>th</sup> century dating is also confirmed by analogue finds from the quarantine in Pricke,<sup>54</sup> where the well-established site chronology enabled the dating of the pipes at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Number 15 in the catalogue is a pipe with tall octagonal bowl, an oyster shell-shaped keel, and reddish-brown fabric (Pl. 1/15). This is one of the most popular shapes of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>55</sup> The production center of the pipe can be clearly identified through the two-row fragmentary production stamp (Fig. 5/15),<sup>56</sup> located on the

<sup>47</sup> GRUIA 2012a, 265, fig. 5.

<sup>48</sup> GRUIA 2012a, 270, fig. 17/b.

<sup>49</sup> BERECKI ET AL. 2017, 108, cat. 296 (now part of the Mureș County Museum, Archaeological Collection).

<sup>50</sup> MARCU ÎSTRATE 2009, 69, cat. 330.

<sup>51</sup> MARTA 2002, 187, pl. LXXXVII/16.

<sup>52</sup> Mureș County Museum, History Collection, inv. no. 9917/2. An outline of the building's construction phases in: ORBÁN-CȘÖRSZ RUMEN 2016, 277–278.

<sup>53</sup> The group also includes many pipes of a different shape but with the same technical traits of the fabric and dimensions. These bear the production stamp of Mathias Rauch, one of the active masters from Banská Štiavnica in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (BIELICH-ČURNÝ 2009, 347). Thus, they back up the dating of the archaeological context.

<sup>54</sup> DEMJÉN 2018, 225, cat. 22, 54, 57, 72, 87, 99.

<sup>55</sup> It became popular on a continental level due to the artisanship of the masters from Banská Štiavnica (LOVÁSOVÁ 2000, 40–41).

<sup>56</sup> A characteristic of the vast majority of pipes both in the Habsburg Monarchy and in the Ottoman Empire, which has its origins in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (ROBINSON 1985, 161).



side of its shank that reads [FRI]EDREICH/[THERESIEN]FELD. The pipe maker, Anton Friedreich, was active in Theresienfeld bei Wien (AU) during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>57</sup> This production center is located in the area where two other very important ones (Wiener Neustadt and Pernitz, AU) emerged. The leading masters in Banská Štiavnica, that also influenced the most important Transdanubian workshops, were native to this region.<sup>58</sup>

The last entry of the catalogue (Pl. 1/16) probably resembled the previous one, except

for the molded decoration of the keel. What is more important though is the molded crest of Hungary (Fig. 5/16), which should date our piece after 1867, therefore during the time of the Dual Monarchy. The pipe was coated in dark-brown glaze, except for the Hungarian crest, kept in the original red fabric, to make it more visible. Such pieces, bearing crests, were quite popular and good analogies are found throughout East-Central Europe,<sup>59</sup> with some examples produced in the well-known workshops from Banská Štiavnica.<sup>60</sup>

### SMOKING IN TRANSYLVANIA: HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE FINDS IN RUPEA AND THE SAXON TERRITORY

The clay tobacco pipes found their way into Rupea castle because, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, smoking became a wide-spread habit with an alarming *diffusion* speed all across Europe. It was in Western Europe that smoking was first introduced to the continent after being brought from the Americas.<sup>61</sup> For Transylvania, along with parts of East-Central Europe and the Balkans, the origin of the phenomenon can be traced back to the Ottoman Empire<sup>62</sup> and not directly to Western Europe, as it was the case for the majority of the Early Modern states in the central part of the continent.<sup>63</sup>

Smoking reached the Transylvanian Principality through soldiers and mercenaries. It was mostly the Ottoman army that brought the habit and the associated artifacts, and disseminated them towards the lower social classes. It appears

that the upper military and political class was familiar with tobacco consumption from the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>64</sup> It was not until the second half of the 1600s that it became widespread. The phenomenon accelerated during the reigns of George Rákóczi II and John Kemény, when troop deployments across the territory were a common occurrence.<sup>65</sup> The popularity of tobacco consumption grew at such an alarming rate that rules and regulations were issued in an attempt of banning it as early as 1662, by order of Prince Michael Apafy I, himself a heavy smoker until then.<sup>66</sup>

Over the last four decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, several resolutions of the Transylvanian Diet were established to *counter and prohibit* the tobacco consumption, trade, and cultivation. In many Hungarian areas,<sup>67</sup> it appears these

<sup>57</sup> BIELICH-ČURNÝ 2009, 353.

<sup>58</sup> NAGY 2000, 50.

<sup>59</sup> Serbia: GAČIĆ 2011, 125, cat. 173 (but dated to the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century!); Bohemia: VYŠOHLID 2009, 22, fig. 5; Körmend, Hungary: NAGY 2001, CVII. Táb./1–2; Târgu Mureș: Márton Csiki house, unpublished.

<sup>60</sup> HAIDER 2000, 144, cat. 8/16, pl. XXVII.

<sup>61</sup> For a general picture of the process, see: OSSKÓ 2000, 14–18.

<sup>62</sup> On the introduction and spread across the Ottoman Empire, see: ROBBINSON 1985, 149–153; OSSKÓ 2000, 18–19.

<sup>63</sup> GRUIA 2013, 21–30.

<sup>64</sup> Early and doubtful sources account for Transylvanians being acquainted to smoking in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, prior to the widely accepted date of its introduction to the Ottoman Empire, 1590–1600 (GRUIA 2012c, 227). However, some data is plausible, such as the mention related to Prince Gabriel Bethlen receiving pipes and snuff in 1615 (HAIDER 2000, 20).

<sup>65</sup> HAIDER 2000, 20.

<sup>66</sup> GRUIA 2012c, 228.

<sup>67</sup> TOMKA 2000, 26.



attempts were included in town statutes and local regulations; but this never halted the phenomenon. The first Diet measure was issued in 1670 and forbade the selling of tobacco. It was renewed over the subsequent three decades and more limitations were added related to the import, selling, consumption, and cultivation of the plant. At times the official dispositions also dealt with the law enforcers and social categories that had taken up the habit and fines were set accordingly to social status and rank.<sup>68</sup>

There were also regional and local tendencies to enforce the central regulations and a statute of Cluj County from 1676 clearly stated that, despite the large number of articles aimed at the eradication of smoking, nobody was being punished. In the following, the local statute established that the county officials should exact punishment without mercy and that all tobacco on the market be burned.<sup>69</sup>

The reasons for this attitude towards tobacco were multiple, starting with the negative effect on health,<sup>70</sup> ones finances, morality (especially in clergymen), and public safety. The latter implied the risk of wildfire, as pipe smoking was mounting this possibility, and well-organized communities (the Saxon communes and neighborhoods) were considering this as well.<sup>71</sup> Starting with the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the practice was legal, several documentary entries clearly show that the local regulations of the Saxons set some limitations for smoking.

No such provisos were as of yet identified in the regulations of the Rupea Seat and of its communes, despite the presence of some very specific rules for preventing wildfires and immoral conduct.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, some examples from other Saxon regions can be brought forth

to illustrate the attitude of the German population when faced with the need to elaborate and enforce rules of proper and safe conduct. For instance, in 1704 it was decided that no smoking was allowed in the streets of Sibiu in order to prevent fire.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, in 1721 the practice was banned in the peasant courtyards as well,<sup>74</sup> possibly for the same reason, though nothing was said of the higher classes of the Saxon society. One article in the 1794 statute of the neighborhoods from the Mediaș Seat banned anyone from smoking outside the 'room' and in the fields, or the courtyards. It also set a fine of 99 denars for such a transgression.<sup>75</sup> Something similar was recorded in 1801 by the statute of the neighborhoods from Brașov. Every neighbor (owner, tenant, worker, or servant) was fined 3 florins if he/she was caught during windy weather holding an open flame (lamp) or a lit tobacco pipe in the stable, barn, or even in the courtyard.<sup>76</sup> The prohibition of smoking in the streets of Brașov was so drastic that action against the ones who violated this rule was allowed. This was the explanation behind the episode when the night watch patrolling Șchei yanked the lit pipe right from Prince Nicolas Șuțu's hand.<sup>77</sup> The effects of the negligence of smokers was sometimes the root of tragic events such as the wildfire recorded in October 1825 in Râșnov, burning down 235 households together with their dependencies and that year's crops.<sup>78</sup>

When it comes to *consumption*, the exact process and speed at which the habit gained so much notoriety (yet still reached the Transylvanian population in urban centers, market towns, and villages regardless of social status)<sup>79</sup> mostly remains a matter to be discussed, along with a larger and more detailed analysis of the

<sup>68</sup> For a listing and an analysis of these articles, see: GRUIA 2012c, 228–230; rediscussed in: GRUIA 2013, 34–37.

<sup>69</sup> PRODAN 1987, 233.

<sup>70</sup> The reason behind the first recorded interdiction, dated in 1662. For details, see: GRUIA 2012c, 228.

<sup>71</sup> FRÎNCU 2018, 73.

<sup>72</sup> Such as the neighborhood regulation from 1630 (FABINI 2002, 589).

<sup>73</sup> SİGERUS 1930, 20.

<sup>74</sup> BEȘLIU MUNTEANU 2006, 85.

<sup>75</sup> FRÎNCU 2018, 221.

<sup>76</sup> FRÎNCU 2018, 214.

<sup>77</sup> OIȘTEANU 2010, 89.

<sup>78</sup> QKRON 1903, 64.

<sup>79</sup> For an overview of the social categories that practiced smoking, see: GRUIA 2013, 62–68.



archaeological evidence for tobacco consumption, production, and trading. However, the archival documents can form a general image of the time lapse during which it became popular and of how shipments of tobacco and smoking accessories still entered the principality. The most visible impact was among the high nobility and in the princely courts, as this social stratum is well represented by the archival sources. Consequently, one has probably the most data on individual tobacco consumption from the memoirs, relates, and letters of the higher nobles and princes.<sup>80</sup>

Mentions of the consumption and selling of tobacco in Transylvania first appear at the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the earliest one is connected to the difficulties of the Ottoman army to purchase tobacco upon reaching Sebeș in 1657. The price of the merchandize escalated due to the war, which caused famine and poverty. Despite this, tobacco was still listed by Evliya Celebi, together with bread, as a major supply of the army.<sup>81</sup> The military environment, especially the Turkish one, was instrumental in spreading the habit towards a larger segment of the population. In fact, Celebi, who was accompanying the army, also reached the Seat of Rupea and set camp next to the castle for a few days. During that episode, no violence was recorded. There were several days of peaceful interactions between the army and the locals, which even led to Turkish troops visiting the fortification. As the military were in permanent need of supplies, the Seat and market town tended to their necessities. The two parties even traded certain products but nothing is said about tobacco.<sup>82</sup> Still, the troops were most definitely practicing smoking and could have introduced the habit to the population of Rupea, assuming this did not happen at

an earlier date. However, no direct connection can be made to the 17<sup>th</sup> century pipes found at the site of the fortification.

Moreover, these were not the only soldiers that smoked. One knows of Kuruc soldiers returning from Transylvania to Hungary in 1671, after taking up the habit in the principality. The Diets also list soldiers among the users of tobacco, along with nobles, peasants, women and clergymen.<sup>83</sup> Another episode was recorded in the archives of the Bistrița municipality, at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 1705, during the War of Independence against the Habsburgs, the town of Bistrița had to supply the Kuruc army with food, various products, and, of course, tobacco for Prince Francis Rákóczi II.<sup>84</sup>

The records on the trade and production of tobacco and its associated accessories lack almost entirely, due to the prohibitions. No wonder the plant is hardly ever mentioned by the archives and no traces of it can be found in the estate inventories of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Historian D. Prodan concluded that mentioning it was most likely avoided and that some crops must have existed, as proved indirectly by the Diet resolutions.<sup>85</sup>

During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the situation changed. In 1753, a vague entry in a short chronicle of Transylvania by J. Teutch mentions the leasing of the tobacco in the region of Brașov to three (private?) individuals.<sup>86</sup> It is not clear whether they were leasing the trade and distribution or the cultivation of the plant in that area.<sup>87</sup> The local authorities were directly involved in the tobacco business and, in 1760, the magistrates from the Land of Bârsa held a meeting in order to discuss the local taxes and the lease of tobacco as a special and distinct business matter.<sup>88</sup> The taboo of the 17<sup>th</sup> century gradually became an

<sup>80</sup> GRUIA 2013, ch. 2.

<sup>81</sup> CĂLĂTORI STRĂINI 1976, 619.

<sup>82</sup> The complete account of Evliya Celebi in: CĂLĂTORI STRĂINI 1976, 598–605.

<sup>83</sup> GRUIA 2013, 65–66.

<sup>84</sup> DAHINTEN 1988, 95.

<sup>85</sup> PRODAN 1987, 232–233.

<sup>86</sup> QKRON 1903, 442.

<sup>87</sup> It is impossible to say whether the 30 tobacco bundles mentioned in the 1721 inventory of the residence of George Bánffy in Urmeniș were locally grown or imported (B. NAGY 1973, 288).

<sup>88</sup> QKRON 1903, 482.



opportunity for gain. During the next century, the Habsburg authorities were quick to instate a tobacco monopoly with huge effects on taxation and distribution. The measure only entered Hungary<sup>89</sup> and Transylvania last, in 1851.<sup>90</sup>

The illegal and, most likely, insufficient local production from Transylvania was supplemented through external trade. The import and transit of tobacco leafs made it to the customs registers and the first mention is dated in 1672.<sup>91</sup> By 1683, Transylvanian authorities had already tried to stop the imports, but transit was still allowed. The tobacco shipments, even though barely notable compared to other types of merchandise, were introduced to Transylvania and transited towards Poland, Hungary, and the Habsburg Empire,<sup>92</sup> with merchant companies being granted permission to enter the principality.<sup>93</sup> As one can notice from the Turnu Roșu custom registers, it was continuously brought into the country between 1682 and 1686<sup>94</sup> (the registers record it with some fluctuations until 1692) and some of the shipments were intended for internal commerce.<sup>95</sup> It also appears that the Transylvanian market absorbed those products that could not be sold on the Polish market.<sup>96</sup> According to the analysis of L. Demény, at least some of the tobacco originated in France,<sup>97</sup> while in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Transylvanian market probably also imported the lower quality tobacco produced in Wallachia, Moldavia,<sup>98</sup> and Oltenia.<sup>99</sup>

Pipes and pipe components were transited through Wallachia and Transylvania towards Poland in the last quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the customs registers record them as such: *Pipaszár* ('pipe stem'). However, the quantities were so small that these products could easily pass unnoticed when analyzing these archival sources.<sup>100</sup> Therefore, this aspect can be better researched by taking into account the archaeological material.

The imported products of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries are quite easy to spot even in the small lot presented in this article, as the main production centers of the Habsburg, later on the Austro-Hungarian Empire, are well-known and the types and variants well-documented. Hence, one can state that the pipes with catalogue numbers 13 to 16 most likely reached Rupea through long distance trade. The 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century pieces, however, are more problematic. Leaving aside their fragmentation, no connection can be made as of yet between these artifacts and production centres located in Transylvania, because of the highly lacunar state of research.<sup>101</sup> Besides some unpublished evidence for pipe workshop activity<sup>102</sup> and a certain one from Oradea,<sup>103</sup> only vague data on the functioning of pipe production places were recorded for: Bobâlna – Călan<sup>104</sup> and 'the black *Borga* pipes of Borgó [a. n. Bârgău area?] brought from Transylvania' into Hungary.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>89</sup> MAXWELL 2006, 7–9.

<sup>90</sup> MÜLLER 1911, 397.

<sup>91</sup> GRUIA 2013, 37.

<sup>92</sup> MURGESCU 2012a, 144; PAKUCS 2012, 92.

<sup>93</sup> GRUIA 2013, 37.

<sup>94</sup> DEMÉNY 1969, 474; during those years 1150 r. fl. worth of tobacco was transited towards Poland.

<sup>95</sup> GRUIA 2013, 38.

<sup>96</sup> MURGESCU 2012b, p. 203.

<sup>97</sup> DEMÉNY 1969, 478.

<sup>98</sup> CĂLĂTORI STRĂINI 1997, 398, 476.

<sup>99</sup> Where tobacco crops became the object of regulated taxation during the Habsburg rule. See: CĂLĂTORI STRĂINI 1997, 111 (1726), 184 (1731).

<sup>100</sup> DEMÉNY 1969, 476.

<sup>101</sup> GRUIA 2013, 40.

<sup>102</sup> See footnote 5.

<sup>103</sup> EMÓDI 1998.

<sup>104</sup> Apparently a production site existed in Hunedoara County in Bobâlna and then moved to Călan, where it remained active only between 1805 and 1818 (TOMKA 2000, 47).

<sup>105</sup> TOMKA 2000, 47 (citing J. MÖLLER).



## BRIEF CONCLUSIONS

The tobacco clay pipes from Rupea castle prove that the smoking habit reached selected groups and, possibly, entire communities from the administrative seat as early as the 17<sup>th</sup> century. These artifacts fit the historical context of the principality and their dating is consistent with the archival sources and other researched lots. Furthermore, there is a high possibility that the introduction of tobacco smoking to Rupea occurred under the direct influence of the Ottoman military.

Only six pipes from the site still preserve

undeniable traces of use but they prove that the habit was practiced in Rupea and that the smoking accessories did not reach this location merely as transitory trade products. However, some of the pieces were the object of long distance trade, while other could be local or regional products. Nonetheless, the incidence of such smoking paraphernalia in contexts dominated by tableware and everyday life artifacts puts their presence into perspective and smoking can be regarded as a daily habit of the civilians and military troops using the castle.

## CATALOGUE OF FINDS

### *Catalogue structure and abbreviations*<sup>106</sup>

Description: a. shape, components and state of preservation; b. material: fabric, firing, treatments; c. color/overcoat; d. decoration: elements, technique, location on the artifact; e. production stamp.

Dimensions.

Year of discovery and archaeological context.

B = bowl; C = chamber; DH = draft hole; S = shank; M = mortise; R = ring/shank end; d = diameter; h = height; l = length; w = width; t = thickness (Fig. 4).

1. a. Fragment of a tobacco clay pipe that only preserves the shank and the torus-shaped ring; b. good quality clay, fabric shows very fine sand, oxidized firing, a smoothed surface and faint molding lines; c. brick red fabric and slip; d. radial cogwheel decoration on the shank and ring as well as a smaller torus in front of the latter;

DHd: 0.25 cm; Rd<sub>int</sub>: 0.75 cm; Rd<sub>ext</sub>: 2 cm; Ml: 2.2 cm;

2012; in the northern part of the lower castle, between the so-called 'military warehouse' and the gate tower; a modern period waste deposition layer.

2. a. Fragment of a tobacco clay pipe that only preserves the shank and ring; b. fine fabric shows

fine sand, oxidized firing, traces of the molding line; c. reddish-brown fabric; d. mold-made radial ornaments on the ring as well as a small torus on the shank;

Sl: 2.5 cm; Rd<sub>int</sub>: 1 cm; Rd<sub>ext</sub>: 2.2 cm;

2010; exterior of the lower castle, gate tower, S1, fill of the drawbridge pit.

3. a. Shank end of a tobacco clay pipe shaped as a torus; b. good quality clay, fine fabric, fine sand, oxidized firing; c. light reddish-brown;

Rd<sub>int</sub>: 1.2 cm; Rd<sub>ext</sub>: 2.1 cm;

2010; exterior of the lower castle, gate tower, S1, fill of the drawbridge pit.

4. a. Fragment of a tobacco clay pipe only preserving the shank and ring with trapezoidal cross-section; the draft hole intersects the mortise tunnel halfway; b. kaolin clay, fabric shows fine sand, reduction firing, smoothed surface with an instrument and faint traces of molding lines; c. gray fabric at the interior and grayish-beige at the surface; shows gray secondary burn traces;

DHd: 0.25 cm; Rd<sub>int</sub>: 0.85 cm; Rd<sub>ext</sub>: 2 cm; Ml: 3.9 cm;

2012; at the interior of the lower castle; west of the gate tower; modern period deposition layer.

5. a. Fragment of a tobacco clay pipe that only preserves part of the shank and the torus-like

<sup>106</sup> In several cases the elements corresponding to letters d. and e. were absent, hence the missing references in the catalogue.



ring; b. kaolin clay, fabric shows very fine sand, reduction firing, a polished surface and molding lines; c. gray fabric; d. cogwheel ornaments on the shank and ring as well as a smaller torus in front of the latter;

Rd<sub>int</sub>: 0.9 cm; Rd<sub>ext</sub>: 2.15 cm;

2012; retrieved from an irrelevant archaeological context, at the exterior of the castle, on the western slope, in the topsoil; the material probably rolled down the slope from inside the castle.

6. a. Tobacco clay pipe, missing half the chamber wall, with a 'backbone' line on the front of the bowl, a flat-bottomed and cylindrical chamber, flat shank and a torus-shaped ring at the sank end; b. kaolin clay, fine fabric shows fine sand, oxidized firing, faint traces of a molding line, smoothed surface; intense secondary burn traces inside the chamber and bowl as well as on the keel, shank, and on the lip of the bowl; c. grayish-white fabric and gray burn coloring; d. four stamped ornaments on the bowl representing concentric circles with dotted edge and cogwheel decoration on the shank end and bowl lip; Ch: 2.7 cm; Bd: 2.3 cm; Cd: 2 cm; Rd<sub>int</sub>: 0.8 cm; Rd<sub>ext</sub>: 1.9 cm; DHd: 0.3 cm; Ml: 2.5 cm; 2010; exterior of the lower castle, gate tower, S1, fill of the drawbridge pit.

7. a. Fragmentary tobacco clay pipe, with cylindrical bowl, rounded chamber bottom and a torus-shaped ring; missing half the bowl and part of the sank; b. kaolin clay, fine fabric shows fine sand, oxidized firing, visible molding line, smoothed surface; secondary burn inside the chamber; c. white fabric; brownish-gray burn coloring inside the chamber; d. a cogwheel decoration below the bowl rim with zigzag motif; Ch: 2.5 cm; Bd: ~2.7 cm, Cd: 2 cm; DHd: 0.2 cm; Rd<sub>int</sub>: 1.1 cm; Rd<sub>ext</sub>: 2.1 cm; Ml: 2.8 cm; 2012; middle castle, at the early entrance to the second precinct, C28, demolition layer.

8. a. Fragment of a tobacco clay pipe that only preserves the shank and the torus-shaped ring; a small fragment of a bulgy bowl is barely noticeable; b. kaolin clay, fabric shows fine sand, oxidized firing, visible molding lines; c. white with brownish traces of smoke coloring in the mortise;

Rd<sub>int</sub>: 0.95 cm; Rd<sub>ext</sub>: 2.1 cm; Ml: 2.5 cm;

2010; exterior of the lower castle, gate tower, S1, fill of the drawbridge pit.

9. a. Fragment of a tobacco clay pipe that only preserves the shank and the turban-like ring; b. fine clay containing kaolin, fabric shows very fine sand, oxidized firing, a smoothed surface and faint molding lines; c. dark beige fabric; d. incised wreath on the ring;

DHd: 0.15 cm; Rd<sub>int</sub>: 1 cm; Rd<sub>ext</sub>: 2.4 cm; Ml: 3.6 cm;

2012; upper castle; in the vicinity of house 3, from a demolition layer.

10. a. Fragmentary tobacco clay pipe with a short and cylindrical bowl, a flat-bottomed chamber; it is missing the shank almost entirely; b. kaolin clay, rather fine fabric that shows fine sand in abundance, oxidized firing, surface smoothed with an instrument, but overall lower quality mold; c. grayish-white with yellowish coloring inside the chamber;

Ch: 2.6 cm, Bd: 2.5 cm, Cd: 1.6 cm; DHd: 0.2 cm; 2011; extension of the middle castle, Ungra tower, C12, leveling of the interior of the ground floor or of the basement.

11. a. Tobacco clay pipe with a short cylindrical chamber, a bulgy bowl at the keel, a slightly oblique chamber bottom, and a short shank; the piece is missing half the bowl and possibly the shank end; c. fine clay, fabric shows fine sand, reduction firing, and faint traces of molding lines; secondary burn due to usage is present; d. black in the middle and dark reddish-brown at the surface; entirely overcoated with green glaze; black burned traces at the interior of the chamber and mortise; e. incised decoration on the lower part of the bowl consisting of vertical flutes and cogwheel decoration on the bowl and shank, consisting of a succession of small squares; the bottom shows V-shaped flutes and cogwheel decoration on its long axis;

Ch: 2.3 cm; Bd<sub>max</sub>: 2.6 cm; Cd: 1.5 cm; DHd: 0.65 cm; Rd<sub>int</sub>: 1 cm; Rd<sub>ext</sub>: 1.8 cm; Ml: 1.7 cm;

2012; middle castle, eastern part, in a deposition layer at the base of the cliff of the upper castle; demolition layer, probably originating from the upper precincts.

12. a. Tobacco clay pipe, missing the shank end, with a slightly conical bowl, a flat-bottomed



chamber, flat shank; the bowl still preserves a protuberance that was part of a missing element (a loop for tying a rope?) and on the opposite side it is connected to the upper part of the shank; b. good quality clay, fine fabric, fine sand, mainly reduction firing, with visible molding lines; c. dark grey fabric in the middle with brown surface and spotted brownish glaze; dark gray coloring inside the chamber due to use; d. molded decoration covering the entire surface, dominated by herringbone and striped ornaments;

Ch: 2.7 cm;  $Bd_{max}$ : ~2.6 cm;  $Cd_{max}$ : 1.8 cm; DHd: 0.6 cm; Ml: >2,2 cm;

2011; eastern side of the middle castle, C7, leveling or clay floor of an early modern building.

13. a. Tobacco clay pipe with a cylindrical bowl that displays a claw-shaped semispherical keel, a flat-bottomed chamber, and a torus-shaped ring; missing the upper part of the bowl; b. fine fabric shows fine sand, reduction firing, smoothed surface with an instrument and very few molding lines; c. dark gray fabric and black surface; d. mold-made flaring 'claws' on the keel, separated from its upper part by a torus;

Ch: 3.5 cm;  $Bd_{max}$ : 2.8 cm; Cd: 1.9 cm; DHd: 0.55 cm;  $Rd_{int}$ : 1.2 cm;  $Rd_{ext}$ : 1.7 cm; Ml: 2.5 cm;

2010; exterior of the lower castle, northern precinct wall, fill of the castle moat.

14. a. Tobacco clay pipe with a cylindrical bowl that displays a claw-shaped keel, a flat-bottomed chamber, and a torus-shaped ring; missing the upper half of the bowl and of the shank; b. good quality clay, fabric shows fine sand, reduction firing, polished surface with an instrument and almost no traces of molding lines; c. dark brown fabric and black surface;

d. seven mold-made flaring 'claws' on the keel, separated from its upper part by a torus, a small torus in front of the shank end, and V-shaped incisions of the bottom of the shank;

Ch: >2.5 cm;  $Bd_{max}$ : 3.2 cm; Cd: 1.9 cm; DHd: 0.3 cm;  $Rd_{int}$ : 0.7 cm;  $Rd_{ext}$ : ~2 cm; Ml: 2.9 cm;

2012; upper castle; south of house 3, on top of completely demolished buildings, late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> century demolition layer.

15. a. Tobacco clay pipe displaying a tall octagonal bowl and a cylindrical shank, both of which are missing parts; the chamber is flat-bottomed; b. good quality clay, fabric shows very fine sand, oxidized firing and a smoothed surface; secondary burn inside the chamber due to usage is present; c. reddish-brown fabric and slightly darker, polished surface with dark brown and black coloring due to use; d. the keel has a mold-made shell shape; e. on the shank the largest part of a rectangular cartridge is preserved; the inscription reads [FRI]EDREICH/[THERE-SIEN]FELD;

Ch: 6.5 cm;  $Bd_{max}$ : 2.5 cm; Cd: 2 cm; DHd: 0.2 cm; 2012; upper castle, western side, close to the precinct wall, topsoil.

16. a. Small fragment of a tobacco clay pipe with tall hexagonal bowl, probably a flat-bottomed chamber and bulgy shank; b. good quality clay, fine fabric, oxidized firing; c. reddish fabric and dark-brown glaze; d. mold-made decoration on the side of the chamber; e. heraldic cartridge (depicting an organ topped by a crown and flanked by vegetal motifs);

$h_{preserved}$  = 3.9 cm;  $t_{of\ wall}$  = 0.4 cm.

2010; at the exterior of the lower castle, in front of the northern wall, from the upper layers of the fill of the former castle moat.

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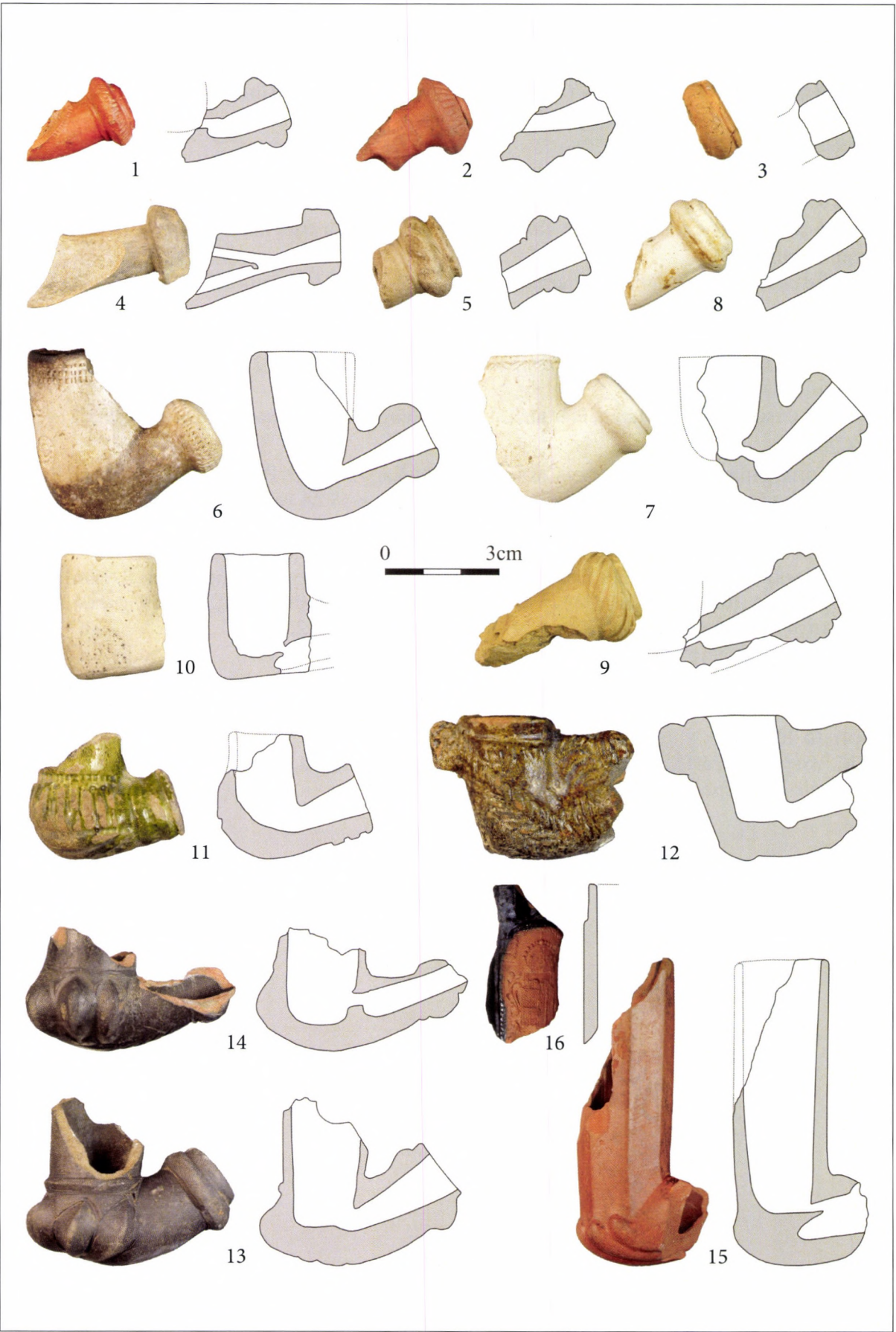


Plate I. The tobacco clay pipes from Rupea. 1–12: 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries; 13–16: 19<sup>th</sup> century (nos. correspond to the catalogue entries).

# DATE NOI PRIVIND ELEMENTELE DE AMENAJARE INTERIOARĂ ALE BISERICII REFORMATE DIN FÂNTÂNELE\*

István KARÁCSONY\*\*

*Biserica reformată din Fântânele, una dintre cele mai importante monumente de arhitectură ale cursului superior a Târnavei Mici, se evidențiază nu doar prin vechimea construcției din secolele XIII-XIV, dar și prin detaliile artistice deosebite ale amenajării interioare. Valorile semnificative ale edificiului sunt reflectate lacunar, chiar prin abordări discutabile în literatura de specialitate.*

**Cuvinte cheie:** arhitectură ecleziastică, renaștere, clasicism, tavan casetat, mobilier bisericesc, Fântânele

**Keywords:** ecclesiastical architecture, Renaissance, Classicism, coffered ceiling, ecclesiastical furniture, Fântânele

## ASPECTE GENERALE

Deși frescele navei descoperite în anul 1982<sup>1</sup> au stârnit în mai multe rânduri interesul cercetărilor din domeniu, încadrarea lor iconografică este departe de o soluționare acceptabilă. Alături de fresce, și tavanul casetat din secolul al XVII-lea al corului necesită o serioasă regândire.<sup>2</sup>

Realizată peste un nucleu de origine romanică<sup>3</sup> identificat în elevația navei și în turnul adosat fațadei de vest (fig. 2, 5, 6), clădirea bisericii reformate din Fântânele a suferit mai multe modificări ulterioare, cele mai importante

dintre ele integrându-se stilistic, respectiv cronologic Goticului și Renașterii transilvănene târzii.

Amprente ale fazei gotice pot fi recunoscute atât în corpul corului poligonal, consolidat de contraforturi, elemente care sprijină și fațadele laterale ale navei cât și masivul turn (fig. 3, 7).<sup>4</sup> Această refacere operată în cursul secolelor XV–XVI asupra masei construite inițială a constituit și cea mai semnificativă transformare a edificiului roman.

\* Țin să aduc mulțumiri și pe această cale dlor restauratori Ferenc Mihály, Lóránd Kiss, precum și dlui arhitect Lóránt Bakó pentru sprijinul acordat la realizarea acestui studiu.

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<sup>1</sup> DÁVID 2008, 76.

<sup>2</sup> Întrucât tematica complexă a picturilor murale presupune o analiză specifică mai amplă, discursul studiului curent am ținut să-l concentrăm în primul rând asupra pretențiosului planșeu renescentist, integrând examinarea acestuia într-un cadru mai larg de fenomene legate de evoluția interiorului în cursul secolelor XVII–XX.

<sup>3</sup> Bibliografia de specialitate vehiculează o datare aproximativă a clădirii stabilită în preajma secolelor XIV–XV. PÉTERFY 2001, 32. Afirmatia, bazată exclusiv pe interpretare morfologică, primește însă dimensiuni net diferite prin noua perspectivă oferită de către rezultatele cercetărilor de parament. Concluziile investigației stratigrafice efectuate în anul 2002 gravitează hotărât în jurul ideii unei faze primare a bisericii materializate într-o construcție romanică, databilă mai mult ca sigur în secolul al XIII-lea. Kiss 2002, 1–3; Kiss 2017, 1–12.

<sup>4</sup> Kiss 2017, 3.



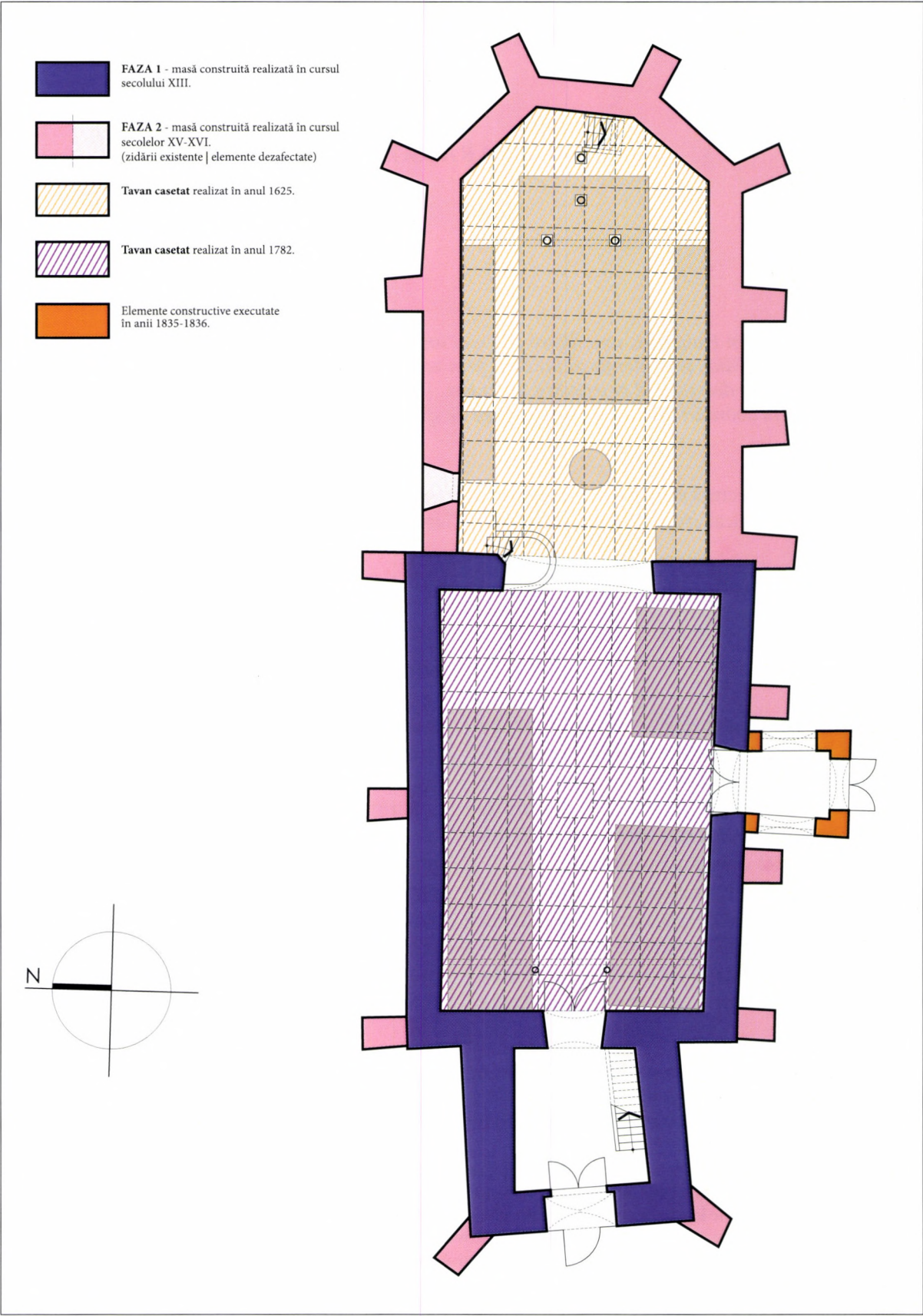


Fig. 1. Planul de periodizare al bisericii.

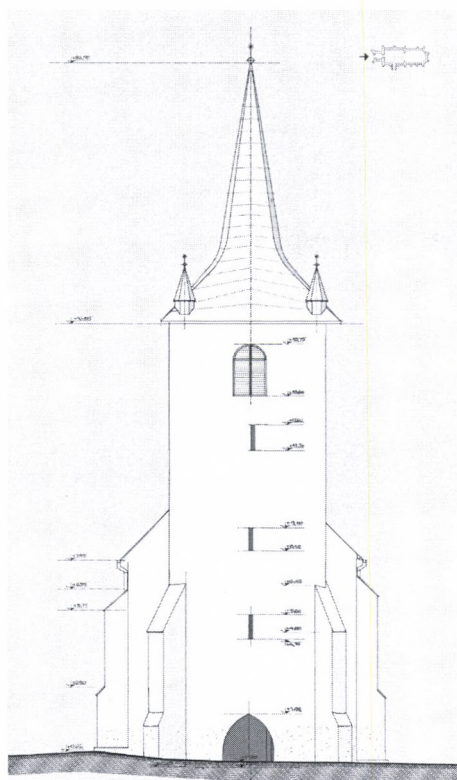


Fig. 2. Fațada de vest.  
(releveu arh. Julianna Daróczi, 2001)

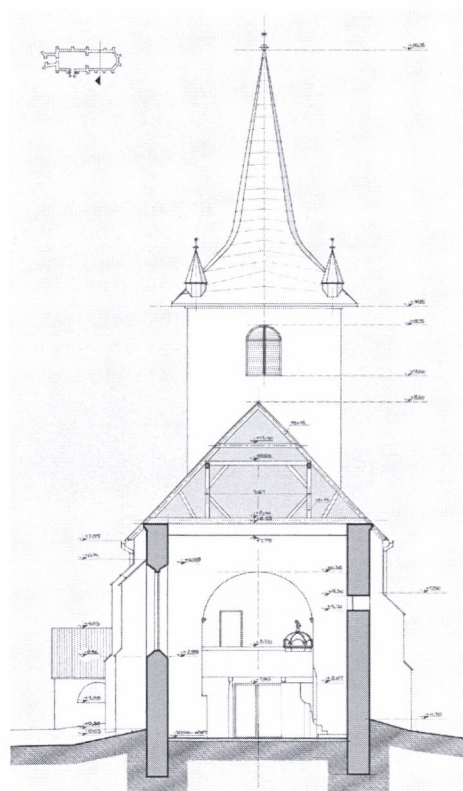


Fig. 4. Secțiune transversală absidă  
(releveu arh. Julianna Daróczi, 2001)

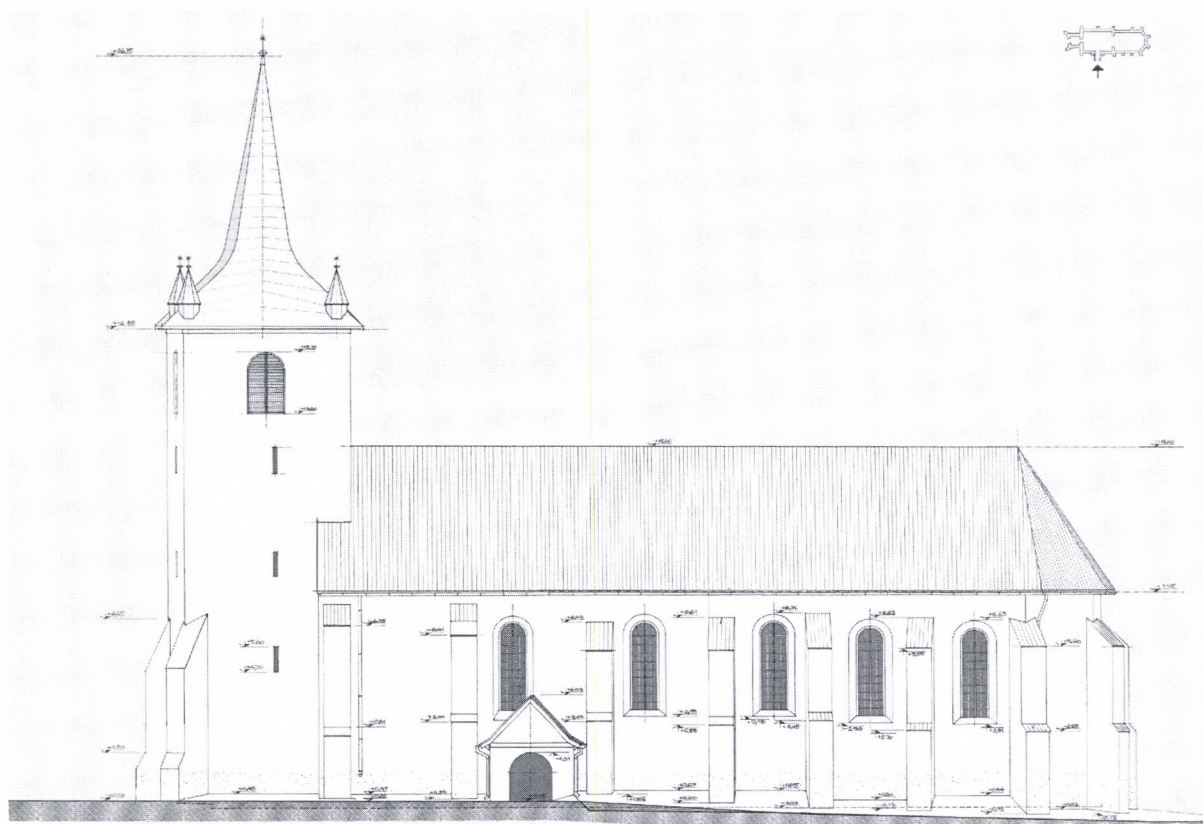


Fig. 3. Fațada de sud (releveu arh. Julianna Daróczi, 2001)





Fig. 5. Fațada de vest în anii 1930.  
Fotografie de Ákos Darkó, anii 1930.



Fig. 6. Fațada de vest, situație actuală.



Fig. 7. Fațada de sud, detaliu zonă racord navă-absidă.



Fig. 8. Fațada de nord, detaliu cu porticul.

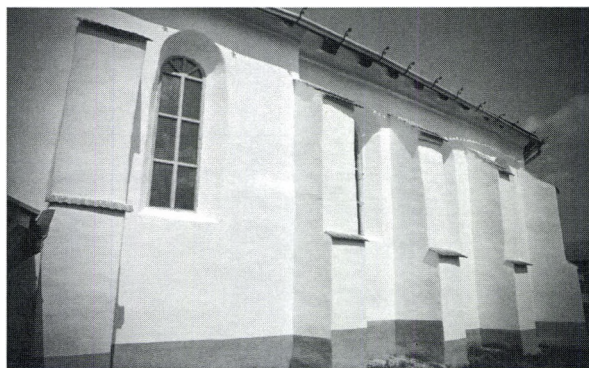


Fig. 9. Latura de est a bisericii.





Fig. 13. Tavanul casetat al absidei, detaliu zonă de vest.

analogiilor. Întrucât lucrările lui János Képíró de Egerháza nu ne sunt cunoscute decât din izvoare scrise (care, evident, se referă la alte lucrări ale pictorului, decât tavanul de la Fântânele<sup>15</sup>), atribuirea realizată de istoric nu poate fi confirmată.

Majoritatea tavanelor pictate transilvănene originare din prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea au fost sortite dispariției, fiind păstrate doar patru lucrări cu o astfel de încadrare cronologică.<sup>16</sup> Într-o asemenea împrejurare putem aprecia, în cel mai bun caz, doar valoarea excepțională a planșeului decorativ de la Fântânele, unul dintre puținele exemple timpurii ale genului, alături de piesele similare aparținând primelor decenii ale secolului al XVII-lea în bisericile de la Ghelinta (jud. Covasna),<sup>17</sup> Satu Mic (jud. Harghita)<sup>18</sup> și Forțeni (jud. Harghita).<sup>19</sup>

Încercând totuși o comparație morfologică, avem posibilitatea să ne oprim în primul rând asupra strânsei apropiere de stil dintre tavanul cercetat și cel de la Forțeni. Ambele lucrări se caracterizează prin aplicarea conturului de forme într-o manieră mai puțin marcantă și cu întreruperi plastice, asociate cu accentuarea limitelor de casete prin chenare trasate în linie dublă. Asemănarea celor două se manifestă și prin introducerea la marginile structurii a unor casete pictate cu solzi, precum și prin caracterul identic al inscripțiilor. Dar dincolo de asemănările amintite, relevanța analogiei cu autor necunoscut de la Forțeni,<sup>20</sup> nu ne ajută în clarificarea identității pictorului tâmplar angajat la Fântânele. Aceeași afirmație este valabilă și în legătură cu fragmentele de tavan casetat de la Ormeniș (jud. Mureș) care

<sup>15</sup> KELEMEN 1911, 393.

<sup>16</sup> LÁNGI-MIHÁLY 2003, 34.

<sup>17</sup> LÁNGI-MIHÁLY 2003, 40.

<sup>18</sup> LÁNGI-MIHÁLY 2003, 52.

<sup>19</sup> LÁNGI-MIHÁLY 2003, 34–35.

<sup>20</sup> Deteriorarea excesivă a fragmentelor de text nu ne permite descifrarea numelui pictorului, fiind lizibil doar numele donatorului. LÁNGI-MIHÁLY 2003, 34.





Fig. 14. Detaliu cu blazonul donatorului János Gáspár de Szövérd.



Fig. 15. Detaliu cu blazonul lui Zsófia Bethlen.



au fost refolosite ca material lemnos cu prilejul reparării podului bisericii de acolo (fig. 17, 19).<sup>21</sup> Deși conexiunea morfologică a acestora cu decorația de la Fântânele este evidentă, perceptibilă inclusiv la nivel cromatic, nici această a doua analogie cu autor necunoscut nu permite identificarea meșterului din Fântânele.<sup>22</sup>

2. Cealaltă carență a teoriei lui Lajos Kelemen se manifestă prin neglijarea opțiunilor multiple aflate la dispoziția donatorului în alegerea executantului pentru tavanul bisericii de la Fântânele. Persoana lui János Képíró de Egerháza este prezentată de către istoric în ipostaza romantică a „pictorului de curte” al principelui Bethlen. Dar aspectul de mai sus provine dintr-o percepție eronată asupra organizării lucrărilor de decorare ale palatului princiar, fondată pe ideea implicării unui singur executant la ornarea tavanelor, identificat, evident, în amintitul pictor.<sup>23</sup> Izvoarele epocii atestă prezența la operațiunile în cauză a unui număr mult mai mare de meșteri. Nu este lipsit de ironie că identificarea lor se datorește tocmai aceluiași Lajos Kelemen. Istoricul, un bun cunoscător al Cărților de socoteli ale orașului Cluj din secolul XVII, s-a numărat și printre primii care au reușit să identifice artiștii decoratori ai vremii trimiși din orașul de pe Someș la Alba Iulia pentru decorarea palatului princiar.<sup>24</sup> Între anii 1618-1620 este atestat la decorarea palatului István Képíró (al cărui identitate cu Csengeri Képíró nu este clar dovedită), iar din 1623 avem cunoștință despre detașarea de la Cluj la Alba Iulia a pictorului János Képíró.<sup>25</sup> Cel din urmă nu poate fi, pe baza sursei, identificat cu meșterul Egerházi, iar implicarea sa în pictarea tavanelor de la Alba Iulia este confirmată doar prin conținutul diplomei de înnobilare emis de Gheorghe Rákóczi I.<sup>26</sup> Ei sunt doar câțiva din colectivul deosebit de larg al artiștilor decoratori aduși pentru înfrumusețarea reședinței



Fig. 16. Stema donatorului.  
Fotografie de Ákos Darkó, anii 1930.

princiare din orașele locale, sau chiar din regiunile de dincolo de granițele Principatului, din Ungaria Superioară (Felvidék), sau din Viena.<sup>27</sup> O scrisoare a lui Bethlen atestă încă în anul 1615 contractarea la șantier a unor pictori tâmplari „pricepuți”, originari din „țări îndepărtate”.<sup>28</sup> Acestora li s-a alăturat cu puțin timp în urmă un anumit János Szócs pomenit în anul 1622, urmat apoi de alți meșteri decoratori, printre ei fiind și un pictor german chemat de la Cluj

<sup>21</sup> Detaliile de tavan în cauză au fost descoperite de restauratorul Lóránd Kiss în cadrul unei campanii de cercetare a obiectivului întreprinse în anul 2014.

<sup>22</sup> Identificarea paralelismului din urmă îi aparține specialistului restaurator Ferenc Mihály, care a avut bunăvoința de a-mi atrage atenția asupra acestuia.

<sup>23</sup> KELEMEN 1977, 48.

<sup>24</sup> KELEMEN 1977, 238–239.

<sup>25</sup> KELEMEN 1977, 238.

<sup>26</sup> KELEMEN 1911, 393.

<sup>27</sup> KOVÁCS 2006, 164.

<sup>28</sup> KOVÁCS 2006, 163.





Fig. 17. Rozetă executată pe o casetă păstrată din tavanul pictat de la Ormeniș. Foto: Ferenc Mihály.

în anul 1624.<sup>29</sup> El a aparținut acelui grup de 17 meșteri, care în anul amintit au fost chemați la Cluj, transferat ulterior la Oradea, mai apoi la lucrările palatului princiar de la Alba Iulia.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> EMŐDI 2011, 120.

<sup>30</sup> KOVÁCS 2006, 167.

<sup>31</sup> EMŐDI 2011, 120.

<sup>32</sup> KELEMEN 1977, 239.

<sup>33</sup> EMŐDI 2011, 120.

<sup>34</sup> EMŐDI 2011, 120, nota 23.

<sup>35</sup> KELEMEN 1927, 177.

<sup>36</sup> MIHÁLY 2017, 2.

Participarea mai multor pictori la șantierul în cauză a fost semnalată și în anul execuției tavanului de la Fântânele. Astfel în 1625 avem notată prezența la Alba Iulia a lui György Pap,<sup>31</sup> dar și a lui Jakab Képiró,<sup>32</sup> respectiv a pictorului (amintit de asemenea drept *képiró*).<sup>33</sup> Rolul exact al celor de mai sus în realizarea diferitelor decorații ale palatului rămâne necunoscut din cauza tăcerii surselor din epocă. Relatările acestora, din păcate, omit în majoritatea cazurilor detaliile necesare pentru identificarea în sine a obiectului de activitate al amintitelor personaje, ei puteau fi antrenate cu aceeași probabilitate fie la executarea picturilor murale, fie la ornarea tavanelor casetate ale palatului.<sup>34</sup> Acest ultim lucru este însă departe de a exclude implicarea ai altor meșteri alături de János Képiró de Egerháza la ornarea tavanelor casetate ale reședinței princiare, întrucât sensul regional al termenului de pictor (*képiró*) acoperea în epoca respectivă un spectru larg al activităților plastice.<sup>35</sup>

Pe fondul împrejurărilor amintite posibilitatea identificării lui Egerháza cu meșterul tavanului de la Fântânele capătă evident o valoare net diferită față de cea conferită în studiul lui Kelemen. Mai mult, șansele contractării amintitului pictor sunt diminuate substanțial și de conexiunile stilistice ale planșeului în cauză, care materializându-se – alături de analogiile scoase deja în evidență – prin motivele spectaculos de apropiate morfologic ale amintitelor casete de la Ormeniș (jud. Mureș), ridică suspiciunea realizării tavanului de la Fântânele de către un pictor-tâmplar sau de către un atelier provenit din aria de influență a Sighișoarei.<sup>36</sup>

În contextul aspectelor de dinainte – și până la eventuala apariție a unor noi informații mai concrete ale problemei – propunem prudență în atribuirea tavanului din Fântânele. Anonimatul autorului constituie, într-adevăr, o lacună în determinarea operei în cauză. Cu toate acestea,





Fig. 18. Rozetă florală a tavanului de secol XVII de la Fântânele. Foto: Ferenc Mihály.



Fig. 19. Bandou cu butoane al tavanului de la Ormeniș. Foto: Ferenc Mihály.



Fig. 20. Decor de bandou cu butoane pictat pe tavanul de la Fântânele. Foto: Ferenc Mihály.



Fig. 21. Casetă din zona centrală a tavanului.





Fig. 22. Fragmente de casete din secolul al XVI-lea introduse asupra tavanului de absidă.

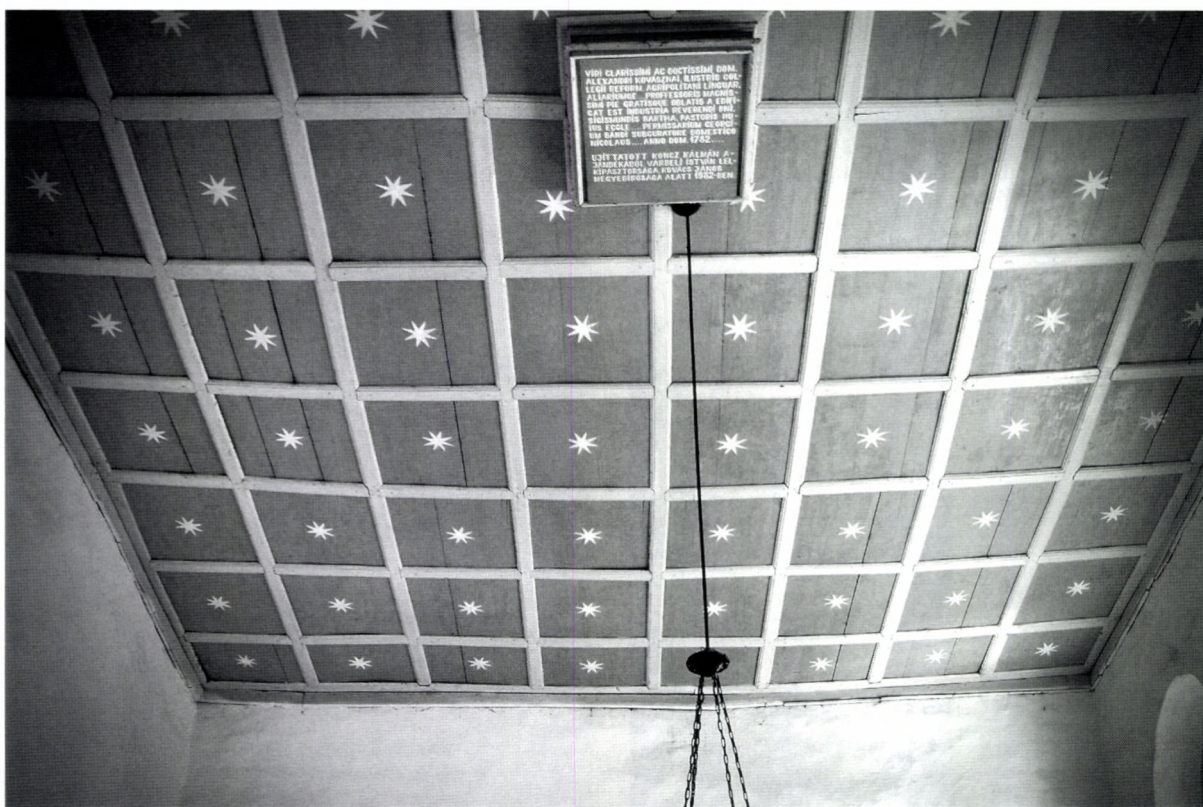


Fig. 23. Tavanul casetat aferent navei.



lucrarea își păstrează pe deplin valoarea ei istorică, fiind printre puținele realizări artistice de acest gen păstrate din primele decenii ale secolului al XVII-lea. Liniile sale sigure organizate în forme decorative mature dau dovada implicării unui meșter deosebit de talentat, identitatea căruia rămâne necunoscută.

\*

Pentru analiza tavanului casetat de la Fântânele trebuie să evaluăm și un alt aspect important, concretizat în contextul fizic original al piesei. Ne referim aici la suprafața inițială a închiderii casetate realizate în anul 1625, respectiv la posibilitatea ca sistemul să fi fost extins inclusiv în spațiul navei bisericii. Fără a risca orice formulare sigură în problema dată, suntem obligați să atragem atenția asupra unor inserții executate peste tavanul absidei, introduceri de material secundar, care ar putea să provină din masa unui presupus tavan similar, existent anterior în structura clădirii. Este vorba despre câteva fragmente de casete decorate cu solzi, ale căror introducere ulterioară devine evidentă prin dimensiunile diferite, nepotrivite, dar care ar putea constitui resturile, organizate într-o altă subunitate spațială a aceluiași sistem de acoperire (fig. 22). Dacă acceptăm această interpretare, originea detaliilor de mai sus trebuie identificată, cum amintisem, în nava bisericii, de unde au fost probabil recuperate și introduse, cu ocazia unei reparații, la tavanul corului.<sup>37</sup>

În momentul de față tavanul navei este constituit dintr-o rețea casetată executată în anul 1782 (fig. 23). După cum arată inscripția originală,<sup>38</sup> din păcate reînnoită cu greșeli și cu anumite omiteri în anul 1982,<sup>39</sup> tavanul din secolul al XVIII-lea a fost



Fig. 24. Decoruri de stele pe tavanul bisericii din Bogdand.

construit de către meșterul tâmplar György Bitai la comanda reputatului profesor al Colegiului Reformat din Târgu Mureș, Sándor Kovásznai (1730–1792). Gestul celui din urmă se datorează strânsei sale relații cu familia Lázár, în special cu János Lázár al VII-lea, al cărui tutore a fost.<sup>40</sup>

Tavanul organizat pe 8 coloane și 12 rânduri a fost supus în anul 1982 amintitei reparații majore. Lucrarea sprijinită de Kálmán Koncz a dus regretabil prin seria unor operațiuni defectuoase, la revopsirea completă a tavanului. Finisajul

<sup>37</sup> LÁNGI-MIHÁLY 2003, 42–43.

<sup>38</sup> Forma nealterată și mai completă a textului ne este cunoscută grație unei transcrieri făcute în anul 1935 de către László Debreczeni: „Sumtibus Viri Clarissimi ac / Doctissimi Doni. ALEXANDRI KOVÁSZNAI / Illustris Collegii Refor / Agropolitano Linguar Aliarum are / sere ... Professoris Dignissimi / ... industria Reverendi Dni. Sigis / mundi Bartha: Pastor ... Ecclae Refor / et Petri Dali rectoris / Per menssarium Georgium Bitai D: Mai ... / sub Curatore Domestico Nicolao Sipos / Anno Domini MDCCLXXXII...” AEREFACJ, DEBRECZENI, 1935, 138.

<sup>39</sup> Forma actuală a textului casetei dată în anul 1982: „VIRI CLARISSIMI AC DOCTISSIMI DOM. / ALEXANDRI KOVÁSZNAI, ILUSTRIS COL- / LEGII REFORM. AGRIPOLITANI LINGUAR, / ALIARUMQUE ... PROFESSORIS MAGNIS- / SIMI PIE GRATISQUE OBLATIS A EDIFI- / CAT EST INDUSTRIA REVERENDI DNI. / SIGISMUNDI BARTHA, PASTORIS HU-/IUS ECCLE ... PERMISSARIUM GEORGI- / UM BÁNDI SUBCURATORE DOMESTICO / NICOLAUS ... ANNO DOM. 1782 ... / ÚJÍTATOTT KONCZ KÁLMÁN A- / JÁNDÉKÁBÓL, VÁRBELI ISTVÁN LEL- / KIPÁSZTORSÁGA, KOVÁCS JÁNOS MEGYEBÍRÓSÁGA ALATT 1982-BEN.”

<sup>40</sup> KONCZ 2006, 173. Despre viața și activitatea lui Sándor Kovásznai mai pe larg vezi: KONCZ 2006, 173–177.





Fig. 25. Tavanul casetat al absidei, fragment cu consolidările ulterioare.

actual, reprezentat de vopsitoria pe bază de ulei de culoare albastru deschis, ca și formele albe de stea aplicate cu șablon în centrul casetelor sunt urmările intervenției în cauză. Deosebindu-se prin morfologia ei aparte, caseta proeminentă din centrul compoziției a fost de asemenea afectată, pierzându-și inscripția originală din anul 1782, ea fiind acoperită cu o placă de fibră lemnoasă și reprodușă greșit în cadrul renovării. În bibliografia clădirii regăsim ca idee posibilitatea raportării stratului decorativ actual la presupusa ornamentală originală a tavanului de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea.<sup>41</sup> Venind în sprijinul ipotezei de mai sus, însemnările făcute în anul 1935 de către László Debreczeni descriu decorația anterioară a tavanului ca fiind una similară cu cea din prezent, compusă din stele albe introduse pe fundalul albastru-deschis al casetelor.<sup>42</sup> De altfel, motivul stelei constituie realmente un element bine reprezentat în recuzita decorativă a tavanelor casetate transilvănene din epoca barocului clasicizant, respectiv a clasicismului (fig. 24).<sup>43</sup> Deși pare a fi corectă

concepția preluării prozaice a decorului anterior în cadrul renovărilor din 1982, imaginea originală a tavanului casetat al navei va putea fi reconstituită doar prin investigarea straturilor pictate ale piesei în cauză.

Nivelul artistic ridicat al planșeului de secol XVII care acoperă absida nu s-a asociat însă cu o calitate structural-tehnică pe măsură, fapt care a necesitat lucrări de consolidare repetate. Primele intervenții de acest gen, puse în practică în anul 1821, sunt marcate de cele două grinzi păstrate până prezent la intradosul tavanului (fig. 25). Una dintre ele poartă o inscripție cu data execuției, respectiv numele meșterilor participanți la intervenție.<sup>44</sup>

Soluția de consolidare însă nu s-a dovedit a fi eficientă, fapt pentru care în anul 1835 a fost nevoie de confecționarea unor benzi metalice forjate. Așezarea pieselor respective, vizibile și astăzi în structura tavanului, a fost necesară pentru consolidarea suspendării.<sup>45</sup> Cu toate acestea, planșeul a fost calificat drept o structură din scânduri șubredă și la sfârșitul secolului XIX, după cum indică inventarul bunurilor bisericii întocmit în 1888.<sup>46</sup>

Starea sa de conservare s-a înrăutățit și în cursul secolului XX, astfel în 1947 au fost surprinse noi deteriorări masive. Procesul verbal al consiliului prezbiterial din 23 martie consemnează degradarea avansată a tavanului, ajuns în prag de prăbușire.<sup>47</sup> Dintr-un document al aceluiași an aflăm și cauzele situației create, identificate în defecțiunile învelitorii.<sup>48</sup> Remedierea s-a înfăptuit relativ târziu, abia în anul 1955, documentele de atunci înregistrează starea bună a bisericii complet renovate.<sup>49</sup> Probabil atunci a avut loc ultima intervenție asupra tavanului casetat.

<sup>41</sup> PÉTERFY 2001, 65.

<sup>42</sup> „Egyszerű kék festés, fehér csillagokkal.” AEREFACJ, DEBRECZENI, 1935, 138.

<sup>43</sup> Vezi tavanele casetate din bisericile de la Tărnăveni, Vânători și Bogdand. LÁNGI-MIHÁLY 2003, 24; LÁNGI-MIHÁLY 2004, 115; LÁNGI-MIHÁLY 2006, 19–21.

<sup>44</sup> „Máthé Márton Császár István és Máthé Zsigmond által újítottatott 1821 esztendő márc. 13-án Papp Szabó László Om. K. Mihály és id. R. K.”

<sup>45</sup> „A Templomnak Mennyezettye meg gyengülvén, és azt fel kellett kötni, tehát erre nézve tsináltattam a Kovátsal a maga Vasabol haszszu szaru felkötő Kaptszakat tizenkettőt, mellyert is adtam 7.20 mf”. AEREFATGM, DSF, nr. 15/1835, 4.

<sup>46</sup> „...mennyezet gyenge deszka, 200 éves.” AEREFATGM, DSF, nr. 83/1888, 3.

<sup>47</sup> ABRE, PvCoPr 1945–1970, 52.

<sup>48</sup> ABRE, PvCoPr 1945–1970, 54.

<sup>49</sup> ABRE, PvCoPr 1945–1970, 102, 105.



## MOBILIERUL BISERICII

Deși primele mențiuni scrise referitoare la mobilierul bisericii provin din preajma începutului de secol al XIX-lea, nu putem exclude posibilitatea originii mai timpurii a anumitor componente din recuzita actualei amenajării interioare. Sondarea stratigrafică a tribunei vestice<sup>50</sup> a scos la iveală un strat primar caracterizat prin decorarea cu chenare negre a panourilor de parapet. În pofida conservării, respectiv a identificării lor într-o formă fragmentară și deteriorată, amintitele detalii par să aparțină unei decorații anterioare anilor 1800, sau cel târziu anilor începutului de secol al XIX-lea.<sup>51</sup>

Primele date referitoare la mobilierul lăcașului apar abia în materialul arhivistic al anilor 1808-1810: într-un proces verbal al presbiteriului este atestată construirea tribunei de orgă (fig. 28).<sup>52</sup> Formele stilistice clasicizante ale tribunei actuale arată clar conformitatea acesteia cu construcția menționată cu aceleași caracteristici în surse, pierderea de substanță originală fiind sesizabilă doar în părțile inferioare ale structurii supuse câtorva modificări și înlocuiri de material lemnos. Prima intervenție concentrată asupra tribunei discutate ne este cunoscută din anul 1912, când suportul pregătit pentru montarea noii orgi a fost consolidat cu scânduri și revopsit.<sup>53</sup> Reparațiile capitale din anii 1981-1983<sup>54</sup> au vizat de asemenea și tribuna orgii, cum ne arată inscripția executată în anul 1982 pe versoul blazonului funerar a lui Gergely Inczédy aplicat asupra parapetului.<sup>55</sup> Având în vedere natura calamităților din anul 1973 care au condus la renovare, schimbarea elementelor inferioare ale structurii în cauză trebuie să fi fost realizată cu această ocazie.



Fig. 26. Vedere de ansamblu navă cu peretele de vest.

Spre deosebire de încadrarea cronologică a tribunei de orgă, datarea băncilor ridică o seamă de aspecte neclarificate (fig. 30). Ceea ce se cunoaște în mod sigur este repararea pieselor în anul 1836 de către tâmplarul István Császár,<sup>56</sup> iar în 1840<sup>57</sup> și 1841 de alți doi meșteri.<sup>58</sup> În anul 1845 apare din nou necesitatea recondiționării băncilor bisericii, unele dintre acestea fiind chiar schimbate.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Efectuată recent de către specialistul restaurator în componente artistice din lemn, Ferenc Mihály.

<sup>51</sup> MIHÁLY 2017, 4.

<sup>52</sup> „1808-be Februarius 11kén a Ns. presbyterium méltóztatott végezni az iránt hogy ez folyo esztendőbe egy Orgona Széket vagy kart epittsen vagy a más Keresztyén eklesiak Segedelme által vagy pedig az Eklesia költségén melyre Isten segélyez.” ABRE, PROTOCOL 1782–1832, 109.

<sup>53</sup> „Templomi karzat festéséhez festék 62 fillér. Templomi karzat erősítéséhez deszka 6.60 kor.” AEREFATGM, DSF, nr. 124/1912, 2.

<sup>54</sup> ABRE, PvCoPr 1970–1997, 67, 78B.

<sup>55</sup> „Ezen templom javításán és az új padok össze állításán részt vet a Nyárad kisipari szövetkezet asztalósai 1982. X. 7-én...”

<sup>56</sup> AEREFATGM, DSF, nr. 16/1836, 3.

<sup>57</sup> AEREFATGM, DSF, nr. 20/1840, 5.

<sup>58</sup> AEREFATGM, DSF, nr. 21/1841, 5.

<sup>59</sup> „aug. 12. A Templombéli minden székek' kiigazításáért – nem különben több egész székek és padok ujjbeli megtsinálásáért az asztalosnak 40.22 mf.” AEREFATGM, DSF, nr. 286/1845, 3.





Fig. 27. Corul de vest.



Fig. 28. Corul de est cu orga.



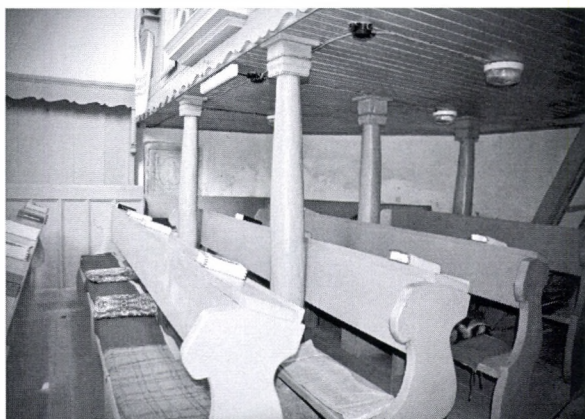


Fig. 29. Sistemul de susținere al corului de est.



Fig. 30. Bănci în absida bisericii.

Este posibil ca lucrarea în cauză să fi fost finanțată de soția lui József Lázár, contesa Zsuzsánna Intzédy, cea care a sprijinit și văruierea bisericii în același an.<sup>60</sup>

Un secol mai târziu, vizita protopopială din 11 iunie 1955 consemnează în termeni de laudă repararea și zugrăvirea băncilor,<sup>61</sup> a căror recondiționare este înregistrată și în data de

10 noiembrie 1967.<sup>62</sup> Ca urmare a inundației din 1973, băncile au fost infectate cu ciupercă lacrimogenă. Astfel, în anul 1980 se practică înlăturarea fizică a porțiunilor grav afectate și tratarea antifungică completă a mobilierului.<sup>63</sup> În cadrul renovărilor din anul 1993 băncile au primit un nou strat de vopsea albastră, pe bază de rășini alchidice.<sup>64</sup>

## ORGA

Amintitul patronaj al contesei Zsuzsánna Intzédy acordat în 1845 a făcut posibilă repararea și zugrăvirea coronamentului amvonului,<sup>65</sup> al cărui pelican a fost aurit din alte fonduri bănești în cursul anului 1884 (fig. 33-34).<sup>66</sup>

Realizarea noii mese a Domnului s-a înfăptuit, la fel, grație amintitului gest de sprijin al contesei (fig. 35).<sup>67</sup> Piesa, de formă rotundă a fost confecționată,

conform inscripției notate cu creionul pe dosul structurii de blat, de tâmplarul Sámuel Hamorszky în anul 1847.<sup>68</sup> Obiectul, marcat morfologic de colonete dorice geminate, evocă gustul plastic al mijlocului de secol al XIX-lea. Sursele arhivistice ale bisericii fac referire la o altă masă a Domnului, donată cu doar trei ani înainte de cea existentă, purtând un finisaj cu baiț negru.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>60</sup> PÉTERFY 2001, 66.

<sup>61</sup> ABRE, PvCoPr 1945–1970, 105.

<sup>62</sup> ABRE, PvCoPr 1945–1970, 182–183.

<sup>63</sup> ABRE, PvCoPr 1970–1997, 63.

<sup>64</sup> ABRE, PvCoPr 1970–1997, 157.

<sup>65</sup> „ö.zv. gr. Lázár Józsefné Benczédi [sic!] Zsuzsánna kegyeskedett Isten dicsőségére ... a szószék feletti korona megújítására és kifestésére 96 ft-ot ajándékozni”. PÉTERFY 2001, 66.

<sup>66</sup> AEREFATGM, DSF, nr. 75/1884, 2.

<sup>67</sup> Pe blatul circular al mesei pot fi citite următoarele: „GYALAKUTI L. BÁRÓ ÉS GROF LÁZÁR JÓZSEFNÉ BÁRO INCZÉDI SUSÁNNA SZENTELTE ISTEN DICSŐSÉGÉRE 1847ik ÉVBEN”.

<sup>68</sup> „Hogy ezen Komunikalo Asztalt a Gróff Lázár Jóseff Úr eő Nagy / Saga, Kedves nője / Intzedi Susana Bároné és Grofnője / (a) Grófnak Halala utam Készétetette [!] az Refor / máta Ecclesianak ajandekül, én Általam Asztalos Hamorszky / Sámuel”. Pe structura de tip cutie a blatului citim următoarele: „Év 1847 Májusban”.

<sup>69</sup> „...ugyan tsak Eő nagysága ... septemberben ... a régi elgyengyült helyett egy kerek fekete lagirozott asztalt ajándékozott az Ur Sz. vacsorája ki Szolgáltatására”. AEREFATGM, DSF, nr. 26/1844, 2.





Fig. 31. Interiorul absidei surprinsă dinspre nord-est.



Fig. 32. Amvonul și absida bisericii.



Fig. 33. Coronamentul cu pelican al amvonului.

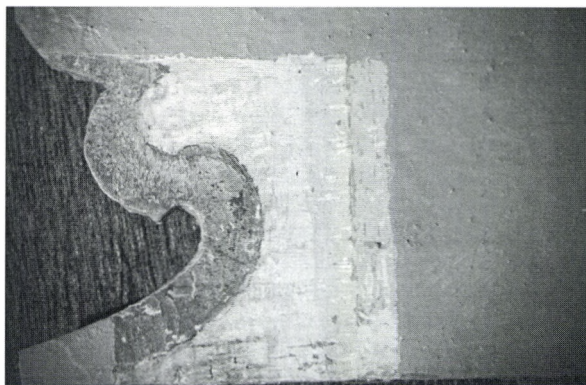


Fig. 34. Sondaj stratigrafic executat asupra coronamentului de amvon. Foto: Ferenc Mihály.





Fig. 35. Orga bisericii din anul 1912.





Fig. 36. Masa Domnului confecționată în anul 1847.

Necesitatea procurării unei orgi pentru asigurarea acompaniamentului slujbei s-a conturat abia în primii ani ai secolului al XIX-lea. Un prim eveniment legat de acest demers este înregistrat în cursul anului 1808, când prezbiteriul decide construirea unei tribune pentru amplasarea instrumentului muzical.<sup>70</sup> Acțiunea, pregătită și precedată de multiple campanii de colectare de fonduri,<sup>71</sup> s-a concretizat abia în anul 1810, când a devenit posibilă cumpărarea orgii aparținătoare până atunci bisericii romano-catolice din Dumitrești (jud. Mureș). Aceasta a fost pusă în funcțiune în biserica de la Fântânele la data de 28 septembrie 1810.<sup>72</sup>

Soluția de compromis a achiziționării unei orgi folosite și-a arătat foarte repede

dezavantajele, oglindite prin frecvențele consemnări referitoare la acțiuni de redecorare și de reparare, unele dintre ele operate la date destul de apropiate mutării instrumentului în noua locație. Dacă în anul 1821 s-a intervenit doar printr-o îmbunătățire estetică,<sup>73</sup> în cursul deceniilor următoare a apărut și necesitatea efectuării unor lucrări mai ample. În anul 1834 a fost adus un meșter din Călimănești (jud. Mureș) care a lucrat la plombarea sistemului pneumatic,<sup>74</sup> apoi în 1840 a devenit inevitabilă curățarea și reglarea instrumentului,<sup>75</sup> urmată doi ani mai târziu de o reparație capitală.<sup>76</sup> Lucrarea din urmă a fost posibilă prin bunăvoința contesei Zsuzsánna Intzedy, care a finanțat recondiționarea cu suma de 300 de forinți, dar și cu alte contribuții.<sup>77</sup> În 1872 a avut loc o nouă intervenție asupra orgii,<sup>78</sup> utilizate doar până în prima jumătate a secolului al XX-lea, când starea tehnică deosebit de precară a determinat înlocuirea instrumentului. Inaugurarea noii orgi (fig. 36) a avut loc la data de 16 martie 1912.<sup>79</sup> Suportând anumite reparații probabil minore în anul 1948, orga nou construită s-a dovedit a fi una mai fiabilă, necesitând prima intervenție amplă abia la sfârșitul secolului al XX-lea. Procesul verbal al prezbiteriului din data de 17 aprilie 1989 relatează strângerea de fonduri pentru recondiționarea piesei în cauză.<sup>80</sup>

\*

Clădirea, apreciată în primul rând datorită fragmentelor sale de decor pictat (vizate de autorul prezentei lucrări în cadrul unui studiu separat), ridică multiple probleme de istoria artei identificate de specialiști încă la mijlocul secolului al XX-lea. Dar evoluția cercetării patrimoniului construit transilvănean din ultimele decenii,

<sup>70</sup> Vezi nota 53.

<sup>71</sup> ABRE, PROTOCOL 1782–1832, 111.

<sup>72</sup> Modificările au fost realizate de meșterul János Grosz, pentru care s-au plătit 170 forinți. PÉTERFY 2001, 66.

<sup>73</sup> „1821 Junius 9kén Maros Vásárhelyi Bán Anna aszszony Dünon Moritz felesége Istenes indulatból ajándékozott két szép nagy gombokat az orgonára”. ABRE, PROTOCOL 1782–1832, 113.

<sup>74</sup> „A kelementelki Mesternek az orgona Fuvojának meg foldazásaért és az orgonának megtakarittásáért adtam 6.80 mf”. AEREFATGM, DSF, nr. 13/1834, 4.

<sup>75</sup> AEREFATGM, DSF, nr. 20/1840, 5.

<sup>76</sup> PÉTERFY 2001, 66.

<sup>77</sup> „A Grofné Eö Nagysa kegyes Grátiájából bé jött jövedelem el költsége: 1ör Az orgona készittöknek adatott 300 Rf. ... 3. Az orgona készittöknek adatott 24 véka búza.” AEREFATGM, DSF, nr. 25/1842, 8.

<sup>78</sup> AEREFATGM, DSF, nr. 59/1872, 1.

<sup>79</sup> AEREFATGM, DSF, nr. 124/1912, 2.

<sup>80</sup> AEREFATGM, PvCoPr 1970–1997, 122.



soldată cu descoperirea unui vast material, a lărgit semnificativ și spectrul studiului de caz al bisericii reformate de la Fântânele impunând corecturi precedentelor interpretări ale temei. Studiul nostru relevă câteva aspecte mai puțin

spectaculoase, dar inevitabile în creionarea, pe cât posibil, completă a evoluției obiectivului din perspectiva istoriei artei prin valorificarea unor date arhivistice neprelucrate până în prezent.

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## NEW DATA REGARDING THE INTERIOR FURNISHINGS OF THE CALVINIST CHURCH FROM FÂNTÂNELE (Summary)

The Calvinist church from Fântânele (Mureș County, RO) proves to be one of the most important architectural monuments in the upper part of the Târnava Mică Valley, due to its construction in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries and to its special artistic details, preserved through the decorations and interior furnishings. It was built on a nucleus of Romanic origins that can be detected in the elevation of the nave and also in the tower attached to the western façade. Later on, the church was subject to several modifications that can be ascribed from a stylistic and chronological perspective to the Gothic period and Transylvanian late-Renaissance.

Imprints of the Gothic building-phase can be identified in the polygonal apse, consolidated with buttresses displaying features similar to

those found on the side walls of the nave. These additions date back to the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries and this intervention represents the most important alteration of the edifice.

Even though smaller in size, the elements introduced in the 1600s are remarkable due to their esthetic and stylistic quality. The modifications of that time culminated in 1625, when the construction of the coffered ceiling, which is still present in the apse, was carried out. The painted plafond, financed by János Gáspár of Szövérd, exceeds the importance of local heritage, as it is the only in situ example from Transylvania dated during the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Later interventions lack any well-defined stylistic qualities, however their impact on the recent evolution of the church proves to be



significant. Examples to be mentioned here are the painted coffered ceiling placed in the nave of the church in 1782, along with the Southern portico, erected in 1835 and 1836. Between 1980 and 1983 an extensive restoration took place, accounting for the largest action of this type in the recent history of the building.

The ecclesiastical building valued primarily due to its mural paintings (to be discussed by the author of this study in a forthcoming paper), also raises other questions pertaining to art history, along with the problems identified by specialists in the second part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The advances in the research of the Transylvanian built heritage over the past decades resulted in an extensive amount of new data, thus, widening the perspectives of the analysis of the Calvinist church from Fântânele. Therefore, we find it necessary to make several corrections to a previously formulated theory concerning the authorship of the church's coffered ceiling. Contrary to the idea presented in 1945 by the historian Lajos Kelemen, one cannot make a well-supported argument for the association between this feature and the painter János Képíró of Egerháza. Moreover,

the recent comprehensive examination of the Transylvanian painted coffered ceilings revealed a close analogy for the studied piece in Ormeniș (Mureș County), where the painted panels were reused as simple wooden material in the church attic. A tight morphologic and chromatic relationship between the two ceilings is supporting the idea that the ceiling from Fântânele might be the work of a painter-carpenter belonging to the group of masters from the Sighișoara region.

In addition to the aforementioned revising task, our paper also tries to contribute to the research of the history of the Calvinist church from Fântânele by using unpublished archival material, in order to shed light on the less spectacular but important aspects in the outline of a detailed evolution of the researched building. Therefore, we deemed it essential to focus on the main moments of the interior remodeling of the church during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, by studying the erection of the tribunes in the 1800s, the acquisition of the first organ in 1810, the frequent restorations of the benches in 1836, 1840, and 1841, the building of the Lord's table in 1844, and the renovation of the pulpit's sounding board in 1884.







# ISTORICUL CASEI HIRSCHMANN ȘI ÎNCEPUTURILE STILULUI SECESSION MAGHIAR LA TÂRGU MUREȘ\*

János ORBÁN\*\*

*Studiul abordează istoricul construcției casei din piața Trandafirilor nr. 18, construită în anul 1905 de către văduva lui Adolf Hirschmann, născută Ida Baruch (în perioada interbelică fiind deja în proprietatea familiei Vámos). Clădirea se numără printre primele monumente ale așa-zisului stil secession maghiar la Târgu Mureș, fiind considerată opera lui Béla Keleti, personaj mai puțin cunoscut în arhitectura târgumureșeană, însă cu o contribuție semnificativă la răspândirea acestui stil, inspirat în mare parte din creația arhitectului budapestan Ödön Lechner. Pe lângă evoluția urbană a zonei, sunt rezumate și schimbările topografice intervenite în vecinătatea casei, pe parcursul secolului XX.*

**Cuvinte cheie:** secession maghiar, Béla Keleti, Adolf Hirschmann, Ödön Lechner, Târgu Mureș

**Keywords:** Hungarian architectural Secession, Béla Keleti, Adolf Hirschmann, Ödön Lechner, Târgu Mureș

## EVOLUȚIA GENERALĂ A FRONTULUI STRADAL ÎN SECOLUL AL XIX-LEA

Dacă aruncăm o privire asupra gravurii lui István Mikolai Tóth din 1827, cea mai importantă sursă ilustrată legată de vechiul oraș, devine clar faptul că în primele decenii ale secolului al XIX-lea, latura nord-vestică a străzii Poklos (piața Trandafirilor), pornind de la palatul Toldalagi spre zonele periferice, a fost dominată în mare parte de case simple, cu un singur nivel (fig. 1). Clădirile reprezentative supraetajate și fronturile închise, concentrate pe cele două laturi ale centrului baroc dezvoltat în jurul primăriei din mijlocul pieței (zona catedralei ortodoxe de astăzi),<sup>1</sup> nu mai sunt caracteristice acestei zone. Aspectul său

a rămas unul modest, excepții fiind impozantele clădiri ale familiilor Földvári<sup>2</sup> și Henter,<sup>3</sup> respectiv a patra construcție de la casa Henter, realizată cu gang carosabil și un singur etaj. Pe majoritatea loturilor putem vedea clădiri cu două sau trei ferestre spre stradă, în unele cazuri cu cerdac de lemn amplasat pe front, cu șarpante simple în trei-patru ape, sau frânte, învelite în cele mai multe cazuri cu șindrilă, dar și cu porți de lemn acoperite, specifice mediului rural. Pe secțiunea dintre casa Földvári și palatul Toldalagi putem identifica nouă case, dintre care doar una, cea de lângă palatul Toldalagi, este supraetajată, fiind

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<sup>1</sup> ORBÁN 2011, 286.

<sup>2</sup> ORBÁN 2009, 265.

<sup>3</sup> În 1778 lotul a fost deja în proprietatea familiei Henter. Vezi Elenchus conscriptionem, classificationem ac valoris aestimationem domorum... 1778. ANU, F 49, fasc. 17, titlul 76, nr. 17, f. 18–19.



urmată de șase căsuțe modeste, de mici dimensiuni. Ultimele două sunt construcții mai solide, cu șarpante frânte și ganguri carosabile specifice barocului – cea de lângă casa Földvári este antecedenta clădirii cercetate în acest studiu.

Dezvoltarea frontului stradal dintre pasajul Hajós (azi Horea) și palatul Toldalagi a rămas una lentă și în deceniile mijlocului de secol. Pe baza caracteristicilor de stil considerăm că, în această perioadă timpurie a istorismului în arhitectura târgumureșeană, în anii 1850–1880, pe toată lungimea frontului au apărut trei clădiri supraetajate: cea din piața Trandafirilor nr. 25, respectiv antecedenta casei de la nr. 20, cu un simplu decor clasicizant. Fațada casei de la nr. 22, în prima sa ipostază, de asemenea a fost marcată de elemente istoriste timpurii, însă a fost transformată în perioada interbelică.

În ultimul deceniu al secolului, progresul arhitectural s-a accelerat în zonă, prosperitatea economică a dualismului austro-ungar făcându-și simțite efectele și la Târgu Mureș. Șirul noilor construcții, caracterizate de o arhitectură mult mai exigentă față de deceniile anterioare, a fost deschis în 1888 de sediul asociației măcelarilor, proiectat de inginerul László Dósa.<sup>4</sup> Pe locul actualei clădiri interbelice din piața Trandafirilor nr. 17 a fost autorizată în 1895 casa fabricantului Mendel Farkas,<sup>5</sup> în forma sa originală o realizare monumentală supraetajată, cu o fațadă marcată

de o reușită plastică neorenascentistă. Într-o manieră asemănătoare, a construit curelarul Simon Hörl în 1897, la nr. 24, o casă cu un singur etaj.<sup>6</sup> Măcelarul Béla Bányai a început în 1898, la nr. 12, o construcție cu două etaje, care prin plastica sa abundentă poate fi considerată cea mai semnificativă realizare locală a stilului neobaroc.<sup>7</sup> În 1899 a avut loc transformarea istoristă a fațadei casei Henter, ajunsă între timp în proprietatea fabricantului Mihály Mestitz.<sup>8</sup> Aceste construcții ale anilor 1890 poartă amprenta clară a neorenascentismului și a neobarocului, stiluri dominante în aceste decenii în arhitectura monarhiei, sau a unor sinteze eclectice ale acestora.

În anul 1900 sediul Băncii Agrare a adus un avânt radical nou în arhitectura zonei.<sup>9</sup> Proiectat de un important arhitect din Budapesta, Gyula Sándy, reprezintă debutul artei 1900 în oraș, folosind limbajul decorativ al așa-zisului stil secesion maghiar. Vechea casă Földvári, ajunsă în proprietatea văduvei contelui Otto von Bissingen, și-a dobândit fațada actuală în 1902: o compoziție istoristă, care însă la nivel ornamental evocă de asemenea unele elemente ale noului stil.<sup>10</sup> În 1905–1906 Hermann Farkas a ridicat monumentala sa casă la nr. 21, o sinteză reușită a istorismului cu secesionul vienez.<sup>11</sup> În 1906, tot în acest spirit, a fost modernizată în vecinătate fațada casei lui Béla Burdács.<sup>12</sup>

## CLĂDIREA VECHĂ

Gravura lui Mikolai, pe lotul din piața Trandafirilor nr. 18 de astăzi, ne prezintă o simplă casă de locuit: fațada principală este marcată de un gang carosabil semicircular, specific barocului și de două ferestre, sub care pot fi observate alte două ferestre, ale pivniței. Clădirea este acoperită

cu o șarpantă frântă, învelită cu șindrilă. Analizând evoluția arhitecturii locale, considerăm, că edificiul datează din primele decenii ale secolului al XIX-lea. Pe cărțile poștale ale începutului de secol XX apare deja o șarpantă mult mai înaltă, în două ape. Plastica prezintă pe aceste ilustrate

<sup>4</sup> ONIGA 2016, 254–257.

<sup>5</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 5512/1895.

<sup>6</sup> Registru de intrare-ieșire, 1897, nr. 6670, 6831, 7455, 7289. ICE, nr. 229.

<sup>7</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 1086/1898. Vezi și MAN 2009, 515–516.

<sup>8</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 5434/1899 (lipsă).

<sup>9</sup> MAN 2015a, 166–183.

<sup>10</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI 2897/1902.

<sup>11</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI 3005/1906.

<sup>12</sup> Piața Trandafirilor nr. 20. Fațada casei din păcate a fost simplificată radical la mijlocul secolului XX.





Fig. 1. Detaliu cu latura de vest a pieței centrale. Gravura lui Mikolai Tóth István, 1827.

– lezene rustice, panouri adâncite în parapetul ferestrelor, cornișe sprijinite pe consolele din sprânceana ferestrelor – este specifică mai degrabă anilor 1870–1880 în arhitectura locală. Presupunem deci, că fațada a fost renovată în această perioadă (fig. 2).

Identificarea proprietarilor de la mijlocul secolului al XVIII-lea este posibilă pe baza izvoarelor scrise referitoare la clădirea învecinată, anterioară palatului Bissingen și construită de Ferenc Földvári. Așadar, conform unui contract de vânzare-cumpărare din 1763, proprietara lotului a fost văduva lui István Rosnyai, Sára Bantsi,<sup>13</sup> iar în 1766 sunt amintite și casele sale din lemn de pe acest lot.<sup>14</sup> În 1778 casa a fost evaluată la 120 florini renani și s-a aflat în posesia lui István Rosnyai.<sup>15</sup> Tot el a fost proprietar și la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea, când au apărut diverse conflicte între el și noul stăpân al casei învecinate, Mihály Teleki.<sup>16</sup> În anul 1835 proprietara este văduva măcelarului István Rosnyai.<sup>17</sup>

Cu ocazia recensământului din 1850, casa a fost înregistrată la nr. 288, fiind proprietatea avocatului János Nagy de Berkesz (n. 1796), care

trăia aici împreună cu nevasta sa, Eszter Miske.<sup>18</sup>

În anul 1857 situația clădirii era una asemănătoare cu cea din 1850.<sup>19</sup> Recensământul din 1869 o înregistrează deja ca proprietar pe văduva lui Nagy, care a locuit aici împreună cu Zsigmond Csiki, funcționar al scaunului Mureș și soția sa, Ida Deák.<sup>20</sup> În următorul deceniu proprietarul se schimbă: în 1882 casa aparține deja lui Adolf Hirschmann,<sup>21</sup> cunoscut în istoria locală ca primul membru evreu al consiliului general al orașului („törvényhatósági bizottság”), fost luptător în armata revoluției maghiare din 1848–1849, decedat în 30 mai 1887, la vârsta de 59 ani și după o căsnicie de 31 de ani,<sup>22</sup> fiind înmormântat în noul cimitir evreiesc al orașului.<sup>23</sup> În ultimii ani ai vieții sale figurează între viriliști (plătitori ai celor mai mari impozite din oraș).

Pe tot parcursul perioadei dualiste, proprietară va rămâne văduva lui Adolf Hirschmann, născută Ida Baruch,<sup>24</sup> o descendentă a înstăritei familii Baruch, deținătorii în această perioadă ai unei distilerii de alcool, respectiv ai unei rafinării de petrol din oraș<sup>25</sup> (de altfel, în anii 1880, și

<sup>13</sup> Contract. Viile Tecii, 5 octombrie 1763. ANU, P 676, fasc. 14, an 1763, f. 97.

<sup>14</sup> Contract. Târgu Mureș, 2 iunie 1766. ANU, P 676, fasc. 15, an 1766, f. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Elenchus conscriptionem, classificationem ac valoris aestimationem domorum... 1778. ANU, F 49, fasc. 17, titlul 76, nr. 17, p. 20–21.

<sup>16</sup> ANU, P 676, fasc. 14, an 1798, passim.

<sup>17</sup> Serviciul Județean Cluj al Arhivelor Naționale Române, Arhiva familiei Lázár din Mureșeni, nr. 584, f. 44.

<sup>18</sup> Născută în anul 1807 în satul Sântandrei (Nyárádandrásfalva). CONSCRIPTII, dosar 40, f. 144.

<sup>19</sup> CONSCRIPTII, dosar 68, f. 153.

<sup>20</sup> CONSCRIPTII, dosar 77, f. 581–584.

<sup>21</sup> Tervezet... Târgu Mureș, 2 iunie 1882. ACTE TEHNICE, Xa, f. 235.

<sup>22</sup> SEBESTYÉN 2010, 96. Vezi și *Marosvidék* 17, 28 (5 iunie 1887), 133.

<sup>23</sup> Monumentul său funerar în formă de obelisc se află între cele mai vechi pietre funerare ale cimitirului *status quo ante* din Târgu Mureș, pe lângă gardul dinspre actuala stradă Nagy Pál.

<sup>24</sup> TELEKLAJSTROM 1919, 56; vezi și CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI 9582/1907.

<sup>25</sup> SEBESTYÉN 2015, passim.





Fig. 2. Detaliu cu vechea casă Hirschmann. Carte poștală (după 1902). Colecția József Kercsák.

proprietara casei învecinate a fost o membră a familiei, soția lui Adolf Baruch<sup>26</sup>). Pe baza izvoarelor scrise, se pare că văduva a dezvoltat mai multe tipuri de afaceri: în anii 1890 se ocupa cu alimentarea bolnavilor din spitalele militare ale orașului,<sup>27</sup> în 1896 a obținut autorizație de vânzare a alcoolului și este amintită ca mic negustor,<sup>28</sup> în 1897 autoritățile o înregistrează ca antreprenoare și brutar.<sup>29</sup> Un cazier judiciar din 1898 o consideră "antreprenoare multiplă", care activează de mai mult de 25 de ani în oraș.<sup>30</sup> Se

pare că mica sa casă, în acești ani, a fost destul de încăpătoare și pentru chiriași: în 1894, cu ocazia unor exerciții militare au fost cazați aici ofițeri de armată,<sup>31</sup> iar în 1900 un medic militar.<sup>32</sup> A participat activ în viața comunității evreiești status quo ante: în 1886 a fost președinta comisiei de inițiativă a Societății Filantropice a Femeilor Israelite, în 1899 încercând să obțină, fără succes, președinția acestei Societăți.<sup>33</sup> Ea va fi în 1905 comanditara casei de locuit cercetate în acest studiu.

<sup>26</sup> Tervezet... Târgu Mureș, 2 iunie 1882. ACTE TEHNICE, Xa, f. 235.

<sup>27</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 5410/1890.

<sup>28</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 3919/1896.

<sup>29</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 6970/1897.

<sup>30</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 11513/1898.

<sup>31</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 2138/1895.

<sup>32</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 2350/1900.

<sup>33</sup> SEBESTYÉN 2015, 247, 369.



## SCHIMBĂRI TOPOGRAFICE ÎN ZONĂ, LA ÎNCEPUTUL SECOLULUI XX

Înainte de a prezenta construcția casei Hirschmann, este necesar să cunoaștem relațiile de vecinătate și topografia zonei, la cumpăna secolilor XIX–XX. Pe o ridicare topografică din 1882, în locul actualei străzi Béla Bartók, între casa Hirschmann și vechea casă Földvári, ajunsă între timp în proprietatea conților Lázár, poate fi observată o curte îngustă, aparținând casei din urmă. Conform schiței, deschiderea spre piață a acestui culoar avea o lățime de 8,25 m și, se pare, că avea o comunicare directă cu terenul de mari dimensiuni din spatele lotului extins până la linia străzii Tyúkszer (mai târziu Școlii, azi Aurel Filimon), și care se afla în posesia aceleiași familii Lázár.<sup>34</sup> Pe ridicările topografice realizate de inginerul Elemér Pompéry în perioada 1896–1899,<sup>35</sup> culoarul de lângă casă figurează pe un număr topografic separat (558) de terenul din spate, menționat ca ”depozit de lemne” (559) și de lotul clădirii principale (557), toate cele trei fiind în proprietatea lui Jenő Lázár (fig. 3).<sup>36</sup>

În anul 1902 noua proprietară, văduva lui Otto von Bissingen, contesa Eleonóra Lázár a transformat radical vechea sa casă barocă, rezultatul fiind palatul actual de pe str. Béla Bartók nr. 1.<sup>37</sup> În data de 1 iulie 1902 executantul acestor lucrări, maistrul constructor Pál Soós, a depus planul de autorizație a unui bazar (”áruházak”) pe lungimea parcelei înguste din dreapta clădirii, pe latura dinspre casa Hirschmann, compus din 5 încăperi, dotate cu câte o ușă și două ferestre orientate spre palatul Bissingen, cu o șarpantă simplă într-o singură apă, ascunsă în spatele unui atic crenelat (fig. 4). Construcția a fost aprobată de consiliul orașului în data de 11 iulie 1902 și finalizată în scurt timp.<sup>38</sup>

În acest fel terenul dintre bazar și palatul Bissingen a devenit practic un spațiu pietonal de acces. În data de 5 noiembrie 1902, văduva a și oferit această parcelă îngustă publicului târgumureșean, cu scopul deschiderii unui pasaj. Era vorba, în total, de o suprafață de 402 stânjeni pătrați, cu o deschidere de 6 m spre piață, și de 7 m spre strada Școlii, conform schiței anexate (fig. 5).<sup>39</sup> În spatele ofertei se conturează interesele bine definite ale ofertantei, care deținea teritoriul pe cele două laturi ale străzii și, bineînțeles, își rezerva dreptul de a parcela și de a construi în zonă, solicitând în schimb, edililor orașului, construirea unui gard de scândură pe lungimea lotului și denumirea străzii după numele familiei Lázár. Amenajarea și iluminatul pasajului intrau în mod firesc în obligațiile primăriei,<sup>40</sup> care până la urmă și le-a asumat numai pe cele din urmă.<sup>41</sup> Drept urmare, în martie 1903, oferta a fost reziliată de avocatul familiei, István Biás.<sup>42</sup>

Contesa însă a continuat să construiască în zona pasajului: conform unui plan semnat de Soós Pál la 13 martie 1903, a fost realizată o aripă compusă din 6 șoproane de lemn și trei încăperi destinate locuinței unui supraveghetor.<sup>43</sup> În 1905 a fost demarată o construcție și mai mare: văduva a solicitat autorizație pentru un corp cu un singur nivel, compus între altele din 19 camere și dependințe pentru mai multe apartamente de locuit.<sup>44</sup> Autorizația de construcție a fost condiționată de asfaltarea trotuarului din pasaj, respectiv de construcția gardului de către comanditar.<sup>45</sup> Clădirea a fost luată în folosință abia la sfârșitul anului 1906.<sup>46</sup> În anii următori funcționau aici ateliere, locuințe și alte încăperi

<sup>34</sup> Tervezet... Târgu Mureș, 2 iunie 1882. ACTE TEHNICE, Xa, f. 235.

<sup>35</sup> Ridicarea topografică a orașului (1896–1899), C4. PRIMĂRIA TÂRGU MUREȘ.

<sup>36</sup> Cartea de fond a intravilanului orașului Târgu Mureș 1898, 28. PRIMĂRIA TÂRGU MUREȘ.

<sup>37</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 2897/1902.

<sup>38</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 4858/1902.

<sup>39</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 1350/1903, f. 3. (33,7×20,7 cm)

<sup>40</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 1350/1903.

<sup>41</sup> Törvényhatósági Bizottság jegyzőkönyve 1902, 135v–136r. CONSILIUL MUNICIPAL, nr. 82.

<sup>42</sup> Se pare, că negociatorul tranzacției din partea orașului a fost primarul Bernády însuși.

<sup>43</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 2369/1903.

<sup>44</sup> CĂPITĂANIA DE POLIȚIE, 5269/1905.

<sup>45</sup> CĂPITĂANIA DE POLIȚIE, 6909/1906.

<sup>46</sup> CĂPITĂANIA DE POLIȚIE, 51/1907.







închiriate.<sup>47</sup> Această aripă lungă, inexistentă pe secțiunea autentică a ridicării topografice finalizată în 1899,<sup>48</sup> construită pe latura de nord-est a viitoarei străzi, în spatele lotului Hirschmann, accesibilă de pe strada Filimon, poate fi identificată clar și pe fotografia aeriană a orașului din perioada Primului Război Mondial. Planimetria corpului ne prezintă planul canalizării, realizat în anul 1911.<sup>49</sup>

Deși a fost deschis traficului, pasajul a rămas în proprietatea privată a contesei. Problema s-a ridicat din nou în data de 11 ianuarie 1912: văduva a oferit iarăși terenul orașului, de această dată însă o lățime de numai 3 m în capătul dinspre strada Școlii, solicitând totodată dezmembrarea terenului aferent, oferind, de

asemenea, demolarea bazarului din 1902 și, cedarea suprafeței acestuia pentru scopurile străzii. Consiliul orașului a acceptat oferta cu condiția ca noua stradă să dispună de o lățime de patru ori mai mare (12 m), bazarul dinspre piață să fie demolat până la 1 mai 1914, și lățimea parcelor create să fie de cel puțin 12 m pe linia frontului stradal.<sup>50</sup> Pentru stabilirea alinamentului și clarificarea situației cadastrale a zonei, în 15 ianuarie 1912, autoritățile au întocmit o schiță topografică (fig. 6).<sup>51</sup> Nu dispunem de informații despre soarta acestei propuneri, cert este însă, că bazarul nu s-a demolat în 1914, în fotografiile perioadei interbelice fiind încă prezent. Noua entitate topografică a primit denumirea după cunoscuta cafenea din palatul Bissingen, *Pasajul Korzó*.<sup>52</sup>

### CONSTRUCȚIILE VĂDUVEI LUI ADOLF HIRSCHMANN (1905–1907)

Clădirea actuală în stil secesion din piața Trandafirilor nr. 18 (pe vremuri piața Széchenyi nr. 37) este rezultatul construcțiilor văduvei lui Adolf Hirschmann (fig. 7). Cererea sa pentru autorizație a fost depusă la registratura primăriei în data de 28 iunie 1905.<sup>53</sup> Documentația lipsește din păcate cu desăvârșire din arhiva primăriei, probabil din cauza faptului că în anul 1912 a fost transferată la tribunal.<sup>54</sup> Totuși, pe baza registrelor contemporane de evidență, se poate reconstitui cronologia exactă a construcției. Autorizația a fost solicitată pentru o casă supraetajată, compusă la parter dintr-un hol de intrare,

două prăvălii, o bucătărie și casa scării (cu trepte de piatră), la etaj din patru camere de locuit, o baie, două antreuri, o bucătărie și o cămară,<sup>55</sup> și, a fost emisă în data de 28 august 1905, sub numărul 5498.<sup>56</sup> Se pare că lucrările au și început în această lună: antreprenorul Béla Keleti a obținut acordul autorităților pentru depozitarea materialului de construcție în fața casei, încă din data de 15 august 1905.<sup>57</sup> Remarcăm, că în această ultimă autorizație apare, pe lângă numele lui Keleti, și cel al antreprenorului local Lajos Nagy, a cărui contribuție la construcție nu se cunoaște exact.<sup>58</sup> Cert este însă că, spre

<sup>47</sup> În 1907 de exemplu Kornél Jakabfalussy solicita autorizație pentru înființarea unei "fabrici de brânză" în unele încăperi. CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI 3844/1907.

<sup>48</sup> Ridicarea topografică a orașului (1896–1899), C4. PRIMĂRIA TÂRGU MUREȘ.

<sup>49</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 10301/1911, 120×56 cm.

<sup>50</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI 479/1912; vezi și MAN 2009, 184.

<sup>51</sup> Têrrajz... 15 ianuarie 1912 Copie (59×30 cm). CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI 479/1912, f. 5; identificat și publicat de Ioan Eugen Man, vezi MAN 2009, 205, fig. 145.

<sup>52</sup> PÁL-ANTAL 1997, 69.

<sup>53</sup> Registru de intrare-ieșire 1905, nr. 4693. ICE, nr. 242.

<sup>54</sup> Registru de intrare-ieșire 1912, nr. 6766. ICE, nr. 249.

<sup>55</sup> VARIA, nr. 583, 14r–15v (vezi și registrul vechi al autorizațiilor).

<sup>56</sup> Registru de intrare-ieșire 1905, nr. 5498. ICE, nr. 242.

<sup>57</sup> CĂPITĂANIA DE POLIȚIE 5395/1905.

<sup>58</sup> Lajos Nagy s-a născut la Târgu Mureș în 1881, ca fiul curelarului cu același nume. După absolvirea școlii profesionale locale și o ucenicie de 5 ani la maistrul Pál Soós a terminat și el Școala Profesională Superioară de Construcții din Budapesta între 1898–1901, urmând să fie angajat în 1902 la fabrica lui Jenő Domokos din Târgu Mureș (ÉRTESÍTŐ ÉPÍTŐ IPARISKOLA 1899, 42–43; ÉRTESÍTŐ ÉPÍTŐ IPARISKOLA 1902, 48). Conform unui anunț, în 1910 biroul său de arhitectură a avut sediul pe strada Baross Gábor nr. 40 (NAPTÁR 1910, 70).



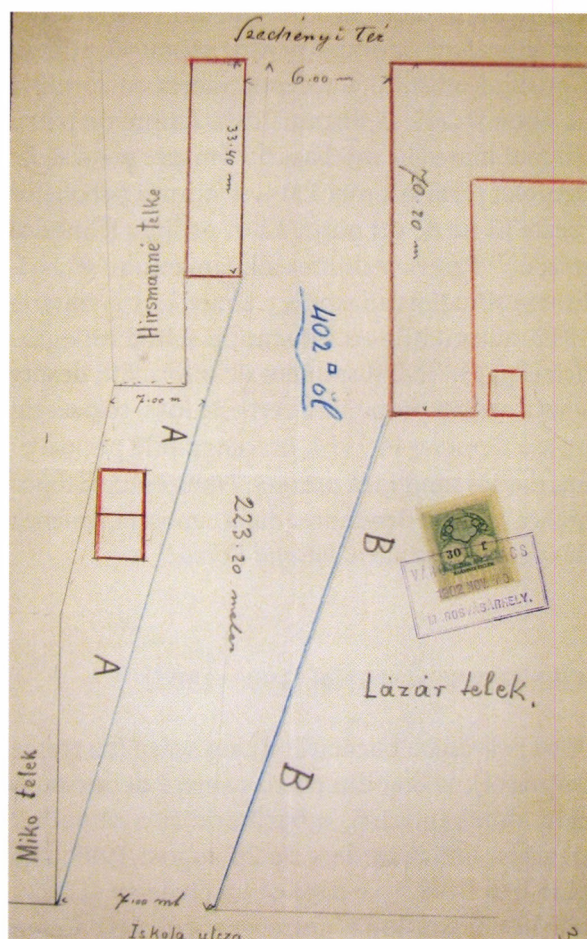


Fig. 5. Schiță pentru deschiderea pasajului (1902).  
Consiliul orașului 1350/1903.

deosebire de Keleti, în aceste luni Nagy deținea deja un brevet industrial valabil.<sup>59</sup> Construcția a fost contestată între timp de vecina sa, contesa Bissingen. Nu cunoaștem obiecțiile concrete ale

acesteia, însă se pare, că diferendul a fost rezolvat, într-o primă fază, până la 29 august.<sup>60</sup> Problema construcției apare și în presa locală: în data de 21 septembrie se relatează despre contestația văduvei Bissingen, refuzată de comisia administrativă a orașului.<sup>61</sup> După o săptămână este discutată superficialitatea construcției, zidurile fiind, potrivit informațiilor presei, prea înguste,<sup>62</sup> peste o zi este reproșat modul de montare a schelelor și neprotejarea trecătorilor, etc.<sup>63</sup> Conform registrelor de evidență, în data de 3 octombrie 1905, problema construcției a fost reluată și de consiliul orașului.<sup>64</sup> Documentația nu s-a păstrat nici în acest caz, însă o scurtă adresă a consiliului către căpitănia de poliție confirmă că a fost autorizat un nou plan de fațadă, diferit de cel anterior.<sup>65</sup> În 14 noiembrie 1905 văduva a solicitat deja din partea primăriei o adeverință cu evidențierea topografică a construcției noi.<sup>66</sup>

La începutul anului 1906 se montau cele două galantare ale magazinelor aferente frontului stradal (fig. 8). Văduva a fost avertizată de către autorități că, pentru locul ocupat de acestea, trebuie plătită o taxă anuală de 40 de coroane, continuarea lucrărilor fiind suspendată până la plată.<sup>67</sup> În data de 9 martie 1906 a fost emisă autorizația de dare în folosință a acestor magazine, fiind specificat, că pentru depozitele din curte ale parterului, respectiv pentru etaj, se va solicita o nouă autorizație.<sup>68</sup> Aceasta a fost obținută la 18 mai 1906, deci până la această dată construcția a fost finalizată.<sup>69</sup> În toamnă a fost interzisă construcția unor clădiri anexe din curte.<sup>70</sup> Cronologia construcției este deci cât se

<sup>59</sup> Nagy a obținut brevet pentru lucrări de zidărie în data de 30 ianuarie 1905 (BREVETE, p. 70), după ce a făcut de mai multe ori publicitate firmei sale de construcții în săptămânalul *Székel Világ*.

<sup>60</sup> Regstru de intrare-ieșire 1905, nr. 6226, vezi și nr. 6805. ICE, nr. 242.

<sup>61</sup> Megfellebbezett építkezés. *Székel Társadalom* 1, 20 (21 septembrie 1905), 2.

<sup>62</sup> "A ház főfalai egy téglavastagság, közfalai féltégla vastagságra és gyöngé vas pillérekre épülnek." Vezi articolul Felületes építkezések. *Székel Társadalom* 1, 21 (28 septembrie 1905), 3.

<sup>63</sup> Felületes építkezések. *Székel Lapok* 35, 201 (29 septembrie 1905), 3.

<sup>64</sup> Se pare, că cazul a avut o importanță specială pentru autorități, deoarece în registrul actelor soluționarea a fost autenticată iarăși prin semnătura primarului: "Lezárattott: 1905. október 3-án d. u. 5 órakor. Láttá: Bernády polgármester". Regstru de intrare-ieșire 1905, nr. 7131 și 7355. ICE, nr. 242.

<sup>65</sup> CĂPITĂNIA DE POLIȚIE, 5293/1905.

<sup>66</sup> Regstru de intrare-ieșire 1905, nr. 8512. ICE, nr. 242.

<sup>67</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 783/1906.

<sup>68</sup> CĂPITĂNIA DE POLIȚIE, 1936/1906.

<sup>69</sup> CĂPITĂNIA DE POLIȚIE, 4264/1906.

<sup>70</sup> În 11 septembrie 1906 a fost interzisă construcția unui șopron de lemn dinspre vecini, cerere depusă de Kálmán Zsakó (el a închiriat în această perioadă încăperea magazinului dinspre pasaj). CĂPITĂNIA DE POLIȚIE, 7203/1906.









Fig. 7. Casa nou-construită. Carte poștală (după 1905). Colecția András Csepreghy.



Fig. 8. Detaliu cu galantarul clădirii. Carte poștală (după 1905). Colecția András Csepreghy.



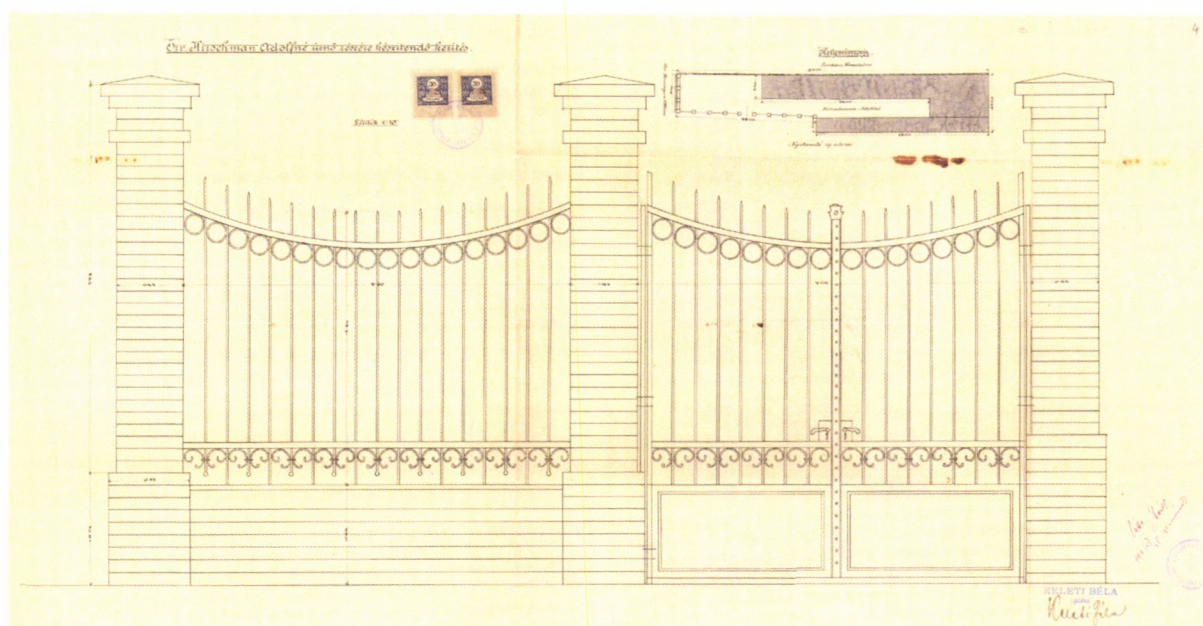


Fig. 9. Planul gardului (Béla Keleti, 1907). Consiliul orașului, 2558/1907.

solicitată, la începutul anului 1913, autorizația unui acoperiș de tinichea, dar, din cauza lipsei

izvoarelor, nu cunoaștem detalii legate de realizarea acestuia.<sup>78</sup>

## SCHIMBĂRILE DIN SECOLUL XX

În 1919 clădirea se afla încă în proprietatea văduvei lui Adolf Hirschmann,<sup>79</sup> decedată în anul 1924, fără urmași.<sup>80</sup> În perioada interbelică casa ajunge în proprietatea comerciantului de textile Sándor Vámos. Se pare însă, că a închiriat parterul clădirii încă din anii antebelici: în 1912 își face deja reclamă "casei de modă" aflată la această adresă,<sup>81</sup> într-o fotografie din 1914 apare pe fațadă chiar și firma cu inscripția VÁMOS SÁNDOR.<sup>82</sup> Vámos a deținut magazinul pe tot parcursul perioadei interbelice, firma sa apărând în diferite variante, pe ilustratele acestei perioade (fig. 11–12). În timpul Holocaustului a fost deportat și a murit la Auschwitz, împreună cu soția și cu fiicele sale, Katalin, Ágnes și Éva.

Singurul supraviețuitor din familie a fost fiul său, Géza. Casa a fost naționalizată până la urmă de către statul român, în anul 1950, de la el.<sup>83</sup>

După naționalizare, clădirea a trecut în administrația Întreprinderii de Gospodărie Locativă din Târgu Mureș, împreună cu majoritatea imobilelor din zona centrală. Un relevu întocmit de Institutul de Proiectare a Regiunii Autonome Maghiare, în 1959, ne dezvăluie situația din această perioadă.<sup>84</sup> La parter, pe lângă cele două săli aferente frontului stradal (în cea din dreapta funcționa agenția C.F.R.), putem observa o mică încăpere (ceasornicărie), accesibilă de pe strada Bartók. Aripa din curte, la parter, cuprinde un apartament compus

<sup>78</sup> VARIA, nr. 596, 153v.

<sup>79</sup> TELEKLAJSTROM 1919, 56.

<sup>80</sup> Vezi piatra sa de mormânt în cimitirul *status quo ante* din Târgu Mureș, parcela 11.

<sup>81</sup> *Marosvásárhely útmutatója 1912*, Redactat și editat de Kovács József, Révész Gyula [f. l., f. a. fără paginatie]

<sup>82</sup> Albumul omagial al lui György Bernády, redactat în 1914 (în expoziția Bernády a Muzeului Județean Mureș).

<sup>83</sup> Date obținute de la moștenitorii lui Géza Vámos (vezi și fișa de carton a clădirii în arhiva primăriei).

<sup>84</sup> I.G.L. Tg. Mureș, piața Stalin nr. 18. Relevu 1:100, 1959. RAGCL.







cămară).<sup>91</sup> La parter este preconizată o pape-tărie cu magazie în spate (prevăzută cu ocazia reamenajării cu un WC), o tutungerie, și micul atelier de ceasornicar de pe strada Bartók. În interior au avut loc reamenajări, instalațiile și conductele au fost reparate, tâmplăria de lemn a fost revizuită și vopsită în exterior, etc. Conform memoriului tehnic, frontului i s-a redat forma

inițială, s-au întocmit planuri de renovare pentru ambele fațade.<sup>92</sup> Parterul, al cărui aspect a fost afectat grav la mijlocul secolului prin îndepărtarea galantarelor (fig. 13), a fost reproiectat în stilul clădirii: au fost propuse goluri cu închideri arcuite, înconjurare cu cadre de tencuială ondu-late, și o cornișă mediană frântă (s-a realizat doar cea din urmă).

### MORFOLOGIA FAȚADEI PRINCIPALE

După cum am văzut, clădirea construită în 1905 a avut o planimetrie în forma literei L, din care, în urma demolărilor din anii 1980, s-a păstrat exclusiv corpul principal din piața Trandafirilor. Fațada principală reprezintă cea mai impor-tantă valoare arhitecturală a edificiului (fig. 14). Pe primele reprezentări ale clădirii apare și un galantar de lemn cu trei uși de intrare, caracte-rizat prin elemente de tâmplărie curbate și un decor floral sculptat (fig. 8). Această structură de tâmplărie, montată în timpul construcției (1906), s-a integrat organic în aspectul fațadei. În perioada interbelică însă a fost transformat, iar la mijlocul secolului XX demontat. Aspectul actual al parterului este rezultatul acestei intervenții. Deși pe parcursul restaurărilor din anii 1980 a existat o propunere în acest sens, fațada parteru-lui nu a fost remodelată.

La etaj, fațada principală este străpunsă de două ferestre late, cu o închidere arcuită la mijloc. Tâmplăria de lemn a ferestrelor este împărțită de o traversă de cercevea orizontală, decorată cu denticule, în partea inferioară cu trei cana-turi și cu un oberliht articulat cu două șprosuri curbate, structură asemănătoare cu tâmplăria ferestrelor caselor proiectate de Keleti pe strada Cuza Vodă. Analogiile acestui tip de ferestre pot fi întâlnite la cele mai reprezentative clădiri ale

lui Ödön Lechner, în forma cea mai evidentă pe fațadele curții interioare al Institutului Geologic (1897–1899) din Budapesta.<sup>93</sup> Pe pervaz astăzi apar două panouri dreptunghiulare de tencuială, care lipsesc de pe reprezentările arhive, deoarece au fost realizate în timpul restaurărilor din anii 1980. Suprafața lată de deasupra ferestrelor este marcată de un întins panou adâncit, cu margini arcuite, care reflectă sprânceana ferestrelor. Acest panou se întinde și în zona chenarelor ferestre-lor, fiind accentuat de patru aplice de teracotă, reprezentând motive florale (fig. 17). În zona centrală, între cele două ferestre, apare un element decorativ de mari dimensiuni, compus dintr-un șir vertical de inimi și motive vegetale (fig. 16), inspirat din motivele ornamentale ale artei populare, culese și repertoriate, în această perioadă, cu mare entuziasm, de către etnografii József Huszka (1854–1934)<sup>94</sup> și Dezső Malonyai (1866–1916), autorii unor publicații deosebit de populare în domeniu. Remarcăm asemănările generale dintre motivul central al fațadei prin-cipale și unele ornamente de broderie prezente pe cojoacele secuiești, culese la Gheorgheni și publicate de Malonyai câțiva ani mai târziu.<sup>95</sup>

Cel mai marcant element al fațadei este aticul masiv, compus din linii curbate dinamice, încoronat de o cornișă lată, decorată cu o bandă

<sup>91</sup> Pe baza proiectului nr. 205/IV "Amenajări la construcții existente din piața Trandafirilor nr. 22, 26, 18", parte integrantă a proiectului general nr. 1217. U.S.L.G.C. București "Bloc F.1., F.2. și zona T din p-ța Teatrului Tg. Mureș". Adresa I.J.G.C.L. Mureș către Inspectoratul general de stat pentru investiții-construcții din București, 11 mai 1983, RAGCL.

<sup>92</sup> Putem afirma, că proiectanții locali au încercat să procedeze cu maximă responsabilitate față de monument. Cartea tehnică a construcției pentru imobilul din piața Trandafirilor 18. Întocmită de ing. Szász Béla, 1991. RAGCL.

<sup>93</sup> SISA 2014, 106, 110–111.

<sup>94</sup> Despre activitatea lui Huszka vezi FEJŐS 2006.

<sup>95</sup> MALONYAI 1909, 41.



ondulată (fig. 14). Zona centrală a acestui atic este străpunsă de o lucarnă asemănătoare unei lălele stilizate, partea inferioară a acesteia fiind mărginită de ramuri ce se dezvoltă dintr-un motiv floral, inspirat din arta populară (fig. 15). Masivul atic curbat, marcat de o linie dinamică, sinuoasă, este o preluare cât se poate de evidentă din arhitectura lui Lechner, care a variat acest element pe cele mai reprezentative clădiri ale sale, în special pe

Casa Poștală de Economii din Budapesta (1900–1901).<sup>96</sup> S-au păstrat până-n zilele noastre cele două colectoare superioare ale burlanelor, lucrări de tinichea decorate cu un șir de protuberanțe (fig. 18).<sup>97</sup> Keleti, deci, a oferit comanditarului, prin soluții relativ ieftine (panouri modelate în tencuială, aplice de teracotă, tâmplărie și tinichigerie de stil), posibilitatea realizării unei clădiri deosebite, construită într-o manieră progresistă.

### BÉLA KELETI

Proiectantul casei este considerat de literatura de specialitate<sup>98</sup> și de istoria locală,<sup>99</sup> fără vreo însemnare a sursei, Béla Keleti. Deși nici în momentul de față nu dispunem de dovezi directe, pe baza noilor informații obținute din arhive, conform cărora, în 1905, Keleti a solicitat acordul de depozitare a materialelor de construcție în fața clădirii, puțin mai târziu, în 1907 el a întocmit planul gardului, și, nu în ultimul rând, pe baza asemănărilor stilistice cât se poate de evidente cu clădiri proiectate în mod cert de el (palatul Feigenbaum, casele lui Ödön Marosi) considerăm, că ipoteza contribuției sale în cazul casei Hirschmann a devenit sigură, atât în faza proiectării, cât și în cea a execuției. Acest fapt ne-a îndemnat spre o cercetare mai amplă a carierei acestui personaj practic necunoscut al arhitecturii târgumureșene.

Deși numele lui este cunoscut în literatura de specialitate a secesionului târgumureșean, până în prezent nu cunoaștem nimic notabil despre cariera lui. Pe lângă lacunele informațiilor privitoare la arhitectura orașului, lipsa datelor referitoare la viața lui este explicată de schimbarea sa de nume, cercetările noastre dovedind că inițial numele său de familie a fost *Keller*.<sup>100</sup> Tatăl său, croitorul János Keller (1837–1913), originar din satul Nádudvar<sup>101</sup> și prima lui soție, Paulina Prikli, originară din Sátoraljaújhely, au trăit în prima jumătate a anilor 1860 la Pesta, pe strada Hajó,<sup>102</sup> aici și-au botezat, la parohia romano-catolică Adormirea Maicii Domnului din centru, pe cei doi copii, Mária (1864)<sup>103</sup> și János (1865).<sup>104</sup> Aici a văzut lumina zilei și Béla Keller, la 17 februarie 1867, ca fiu nelegitim<sup>105</sup> al lui János Keller și Sára Liptay, întrucât prima soție a

<sup>96</sup> SISA 2014, 112–115.

<sup>97</sup> După demolarea bazarului pe fațada laterală a fost deschisă o ușă, iar în a doua parte a secolului XX pe acest perete a fost montat afișierul cinematografelor și a teatrelor din oraș. Benzile ornamentale de tencuială din partea superioară a calcanului fac parte din ornamentația originală a clădirii, fiind prezente pe fotografiile arhive.

<sup>98</sup> GERLE–KOVÁCS–MAKOVECZ 1990, 78.

<sup>99</sup> KERESZTES 2000, 173–174.

<sup>100</sup> Informația-cheie referitoare la schimbarea numelui lui se află în buletinul informativ al școlii din 1887–1888, unde este amintit ca *Keleti (Keller) Béla* (ÉRTESÍTŐ IPARTANODA 1888, 103). Schimbarea numelui de familie s-a făcut pe baza aprobării nr. 20966/VII din 13 aprilie 1886 a Ministerului de Interne.

<sup>101</sup> *Keller János* s-a născut în 1837 în localitatea Nádudvar de lângă Debrecen, ca fiu al arendașului (seniorial) Keller József (Registrul de nașteri al Bisericii Romano-Catolice din Nádudvar 1812–1855, 88. ANU, MATRICOLE, mf. A0866, vol. 210/2). A murit la 20 februarie 1913 la Hajdúsámson, fiind înmormântat în data de 20 februarie 1913 la Cluj. Slujba de înhumare a avut loc la casa familială din str. Minorților, nr. 2 (OSZK, Colecția anunțurilor de dolii).

<sup>102</sup> Astăzi strada *Fehér Hajó* din sectorul V al orașului.

<sup>103</sup> Registrul de nașteri al Bisericii Romano-Catolice Centrale din Pesta 1862–1866, 149. ANU, MATRICOLE, mf. A0079, vol. 8/23.

<sup>104</sup> Registrul de nașteri al Bisericii Romano-Catolice Centrale din Pesta 1862–1866, 204. ANU, MATRICOLE, mf. A0079, vol. 8/23.

<sup>105</sup> Registrul de nașteri al Bisericii Romano-Catolice Centrale din Pesta 1867–1872, no. 92. ANU, MATRICOLE, mf. A0079, vol. 8/24.





Fig. 11. Casa într-o fotografie interbelică. Carte poștală (colecția József Kercsák).



Fig. 12. Detaliu cu casa, după 1940. Carte poștală (colecția József Kercsák).

decedat în 1866.<sup>106</sup> Însă la sfârșitul anilor șaiszeci, regăsim familia la Cluj: la parohia catolică de aici au fost botezați următorii copii născuți de Sára Liptay (reformată de fapt), Kornélia (1869)<sup>107</sup> și Géza (1874).<sup>108</sup> Au încheiat căsătoria la 4 august 1873, în rit reformat,<sup>109</sup> astfel statutul copiilor s-a reglementat și oficial.

Tânărul Keller a terminat la Cluj primele patru

clase gimnaziale:<sup>110</sup> cu certitudine este identic cu elevul numit Béla Keller, care apare în anul 1878 în evidențele gimnaziului catolic<sup>111</sup> din oraș, însă din anul școlar următor îl regăsim deja în primul an al colegiului reformat.<sup>112</sup> Pentru noi are o importanță crucială faptul că și-a continuat studiile la Școala Profesională de Stat („Ipartanoda”) din Budapesta, unde s-a înscris în 1884.<sup>113</sup> Din al

<sup>106</sup> Prikli (Prikrill) Paulina a decedat la 27 ianuarie 1866 în vârstă de 29 de ani de tuberculoză, la doar o lună după nașterea fiului ei, János. Registrul de decese al Bisericii Romano-Catolice Centrale din Pesta 1860–1866, 5. no. 35. ANU, MATRICOLE, mf. A0092, vol. 5/57.

<sup>107</sup> Registrul de nașteri al Bisericii Romano-Catolice din Cluj (1863–1870), p. 207. MATRICOLE PAROHIALE, 71/46.

<sup>108</sup> Registrul de nașteri al Bisericii Romano-Catolice din Cluj (1870–1877), p. 138. MATRICOLE PAROHIALE, 71/47.

<sup>109</sup> Soția este amintită ca femeie divorțată („Liptay Sára, fostă soție a lui Váralyai Guszt”)”. Registrul de căsătorii al Bisericii Reformate din Cluj 1845–1884. f. 172v. MATRICOLE PAROHIALE, nr. 71/31.

<sup>110</sup> ÉRTESÍTŐ IPARTANODA 1885, 75.

<sup>111</sup> ÉRTESÍTŐ FÖGYMNASIUM 1879, 78.

<sup>112</sup> ÉRTESÍTŐ COLLEGIUM 1880, 42.

<sup>113</sup> ÉRTESÍTŐ IPARTANODA 1885, 75.





Fig. 13. Casa în perioada anilor 1960.

doilea an de studii la clasa de arhitectură îi are colegi pe Lajos Kápolnay,<sup>114</sup> venit tot de la Cluj, pe József Tamás<sup>115</sup> din Miercurea Ciuc, dar îl întâlnim printre elevi și pe Árpád Rimanóczy,<sup>116</sup> fiul arhitectului Kálmán Rimanóczy, personalitate marcantă a arhitecturii Oradiei în perioada dualistă. La materiile introductive ale primului an a avut rezultate medii, însă la geometrie, desenul uneltelor, respectiv desenul liber și modelare a obținut rezultate remarcabile, aspectul exterior

al lucrărilor sale fiind „arătos”.<sup>117</sup> În al doilea an însă n-a mai obținut rezultate remarcabile decât la modelare și scriere rondă, la celelalte materii obținând calificative medii.<sup>118</sup> În al treilea an, la toate materiile importante ale specializării sale (proiectare, construcții de poduri, drumuri și aducțiuni de apă, desen tehnic, studii de perspectivă) a obținut note medii, rezultate remarcabile prezentând din nou numai în domeniul desenului liber și al modelării.<sup>119</sup> Din toate acestea reiese talentul său remarcabil pentru desen, ceea ce explică exigența proiectelor sale ulterioare.

În cei trei ani de studii urmate la Budapesta, materiile cele mai importante legate de specializarea sa au fost predate de un arhitect cu prestigiu internațional, absolvent al Academiei berlineze, Gyula Kolbenheyer (1851–1918):<sup>120</sup> în 1885–1886 a predat arhitectură, morfologie arhitecturală și perspectivă,<sup>121</sup> iar din anul următor și proiectare.<sup>122</sup> Dar pentru Keller, venit din provincie, putea fi hotărâtoare și impresia dinamismului construcțiilor Budapestei care cunoștea o dezvoltare vertiginoasă în această perioadă. Din punct de vedere pedagogic, școala însăși s-a străduit să exploateze vecinătatea șantierelor de construcții și a capodoperelor contemporane: din buletinele școlii știm precis că în anul întâi, pe lângă halele expoziției naționale, aflate în construcție, clasa lui Keller a vizitat clădirile institutului de pensii feroviare din strada Kerepesi și Bazilica Sf. Ștefan,<sup>123</sup> în anul doi au studiat, pe lângă biserica lui Matia Corvin din cetate, clădirea Operei și sediul Academiei, casele de raport aflate în construcție în bulevardele Teréz și József, respectiv străzile Damjanich și Rottenbiller.<sup>124</sup> În ultimul an a avut ocazia de a vedea fundația Parlamentului, tocmai începutul palat Wenckheim,<sup>125</sup> respectiv

<sup>114</sup> Probabil constructorul sălii de gimnastică a Colegiului Reformat din Cluj.

<sup>115</sup> Probabil una și aceeași persoană cu proiectantul monumentului *Siculicidium* din Siculeni.

<sup>116</sup> RIMANÓCZY–FERKAI 2017, 249–270.

<sup>117</sup> ÉRTESÍTŐ IPARTANODA 1885, 77.

<sup>118</sup> ÉRTESÍTŐ IPARTANODA 1886, 66.

<sup>119</sup> ÉRTESÍTŐ IPARTANODA 1887, 70.

<sup>120</sup> În acești ani șeful secției de arhitectură, mai târziu directorul Școlii Profesionale Superioare de Construcții (devenită instituție independentă în 1898). Despre Kolbenheyer vezi ÉRTESÍTŐ ÉPÍTŐ IPARISKOLA 1926, 7–13.

<sup>121</sup> ÉRTESÍTŐ IPARTANODA 1886, 9.

<sup>122</sup> ÉRTESÍTŐ IPARTANODA 1887, 9, 42.

<sup>123</sup> ÉRTESÍTŐ IPARTANODA 1885, 69.

<sup>124</sup> ÉRTESÍTŐ IPARTANODA 1886, 56.

<sup>125</sup> ROZSNYAI 2018, 56–57.





Fig. 14. Clădirea dinspre piața Trandafirilor (fotografia autorului, 2018).

lucrările noului sediu al Școlii Profesionale de pe bulevardul József.<sup>126</sup>

Béla Keller a fost, deci, timp de trei ani elevul școlii, în 1887 terminându-și cu succes studiile.<sup>127</sup>

Practica obligatorie din timpul vacanței în anii doi (1886)<sup>128</sup> și trei (1887)<sup>129</sup> deopotrivă, a efectuat-o la Cluj, la arhitectul Lajos Horváth. Întrucât în primii doi ani, în comparație cu

<sup>126</sup> ÉRTESÍTŐ IPARTANODA 1887, 55.

<sup>127</sup> ÉRTESÍTŐ IPARTANODA 1887, 70.

<sup>128</sup> ÉRTESÍTŐ IPARTANODA 1886, 96.

<sup>129</sup> ÉRTESÍTŐ IPARTANODA 1887, 99.



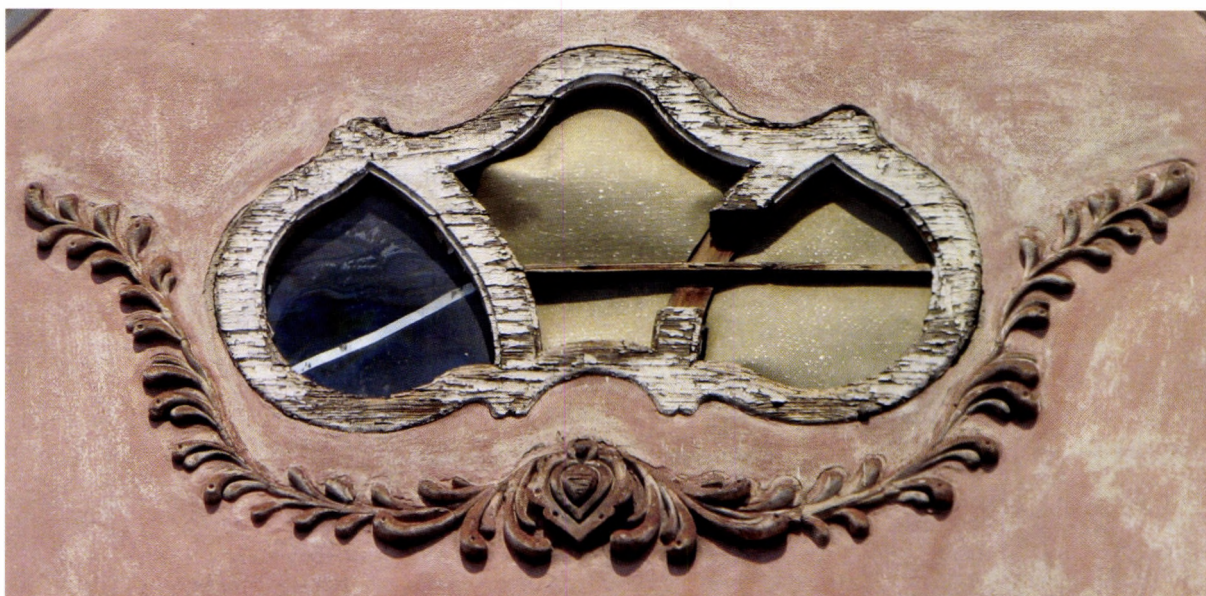


Fig. 15. Lucarna aticului (fotografia autorului, 2018).

majoritatea colegilor săi, nu lipsea niciodată de la cursuri, în al treilea an, însă, s-a situat pe al doilea loc la cele mai multe absențe, este posibil să fi fost deja angajat pe șantierele capitalei. E posibil ca acest lucru să fie în legătură și cu circumstanța crucială în care proaspătul absolvent – care între timp și-a schimbat și numele – în 1888 este deja angajat al arhitectului Ignác Alpár (1855-1928).<sup>130</sup> Tânărul Alpár și-a deschis biroul chiar în 1888, deci Keleti e posibil să fi fost unul dintre primii săi colaboratori. Cercetările ulterioare trebuie să stabilească ce fel de rol putea să-i revină lui Keleti în mediul lui Alpár, mai ales ținând seama că renumitul arhitect budapestan a fost destul de activ în acești ani și în Transilvania. Cert este, că biroul lui Alpár i-a facilitat o excepțională șansă de a câștiga experiență și de a intra în relație cu arhitecți talentați, cum a fost Jenő Hübner (1863-1929), revenit în țară tocmai în perioada aceea, de la Viena.<sup>131</sup>

În orice caz, în 1893 îl găsim din nou la Cluj, în aprilie a înregistrat o firmă<sup>132</sup> împreună cu Kiss Lajos, pe care au și desființat-o însă în decembrie.<sup>133</sup> După ceva mai bine de un deceniu, auzim din nou despre el: în 1904, împreună cu Antal Bodnár, cu care aveau o firmă comună cu sediul oficial în Budapesta, au făcut o ofertă<sup>134</sup> pentru renovarea bisericii catolice din Kiskunfélegyháza, dar lucrarea i-a fost până la urmă atribuită antreprenorului local István Lantos.<sup>135</sup> De altfel, Antal Bodnár a fost cumnatul lui Keleti, soțul surorii sale, Kornélia.<sup>136</sup> Tot în 1904 îl întâlnim deja la Târgu Mureș: semnează un plan de extindere spre curte a palatului Bissingen.<sup>137</sup> În iunie 1905, Keleti și asociatul său, menționați ca antreprenori târgumureșeni deja, au câștigat prin adjudecare lucrările de extindere a Spitalului Rudolf din Târgu Secuiesc,<sup>138</sup> proiectat de arhitectul budapestan János Bobula, în această perioadă fiindu-i încredințate și reparațiile închisorii din

<sup>130</sup> ÉRTESÍTŐ IPARTANODA 1888, 103.

<sup>131</sup> ROSCH 2005, 184-187, 180-181.

<sup>132</sup> Közponi Értésítő 18, 39 (14 mai 1893), 782.

<sup>133</sup> Közponi Értésítő 18, 107 (31 decembrie 1893), 2083.

<sup>134</sup> Gazdasági Mérnök 28, 7 (17 februarie 1904), 55.

<sup>135</sup> BRUNNER 2012, 273.

<sup>136</sup> Conform necrologului din 1913, la moartea tatălui lor (OSZK, Colecția anunțurilor de doliu).

<sup>137</sup> CONSILIUL ORĂȘULUI, 7131/1904.

<sup>138</sup> Gazdasági Mérnök 29, 25 (22 iunie 1905), 200.



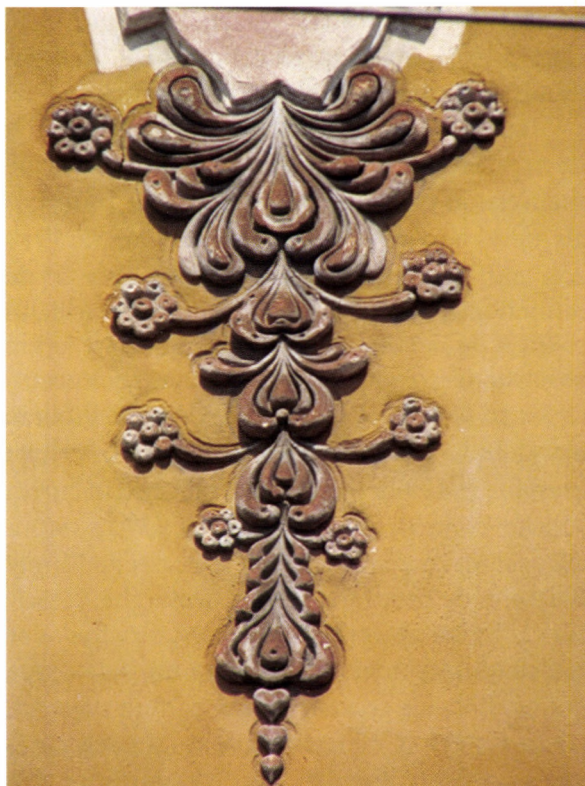


Fig. 16. Element decorativ de pe fațada principală (fotografia autorului, 2018)



Fig. 17. Elementul decorativ, central, al fațadei principale (fotografia autorului, 2018).

Târgu Mureș.<sup>139</sup> La casa văduvei lui Adolf Hirschmann, a început să lucreze tot în această vară, în luna august a anului 1905. Brevetul său de antreprenor a fost emis numai peste un an, în data de 1 septembrie 1906, ca sediu fiind trecut piața Széchenyi nr. 37, deci lotul casei cercetate în studiul prezent.<sup>140</sup> Această autorizație a fost retrasă în 1910, noul său brevet fiind emis în decembrie 1910.<sup>141</sup>

Anul 1906 i-a adus în continuare numeroase lucrări la Târgu Mureș. La 25 iulie au fost aprobate proiectele sale pentru cele două case alăturate ale lui Ödön Marosi din strada Kör (Cercului), pe care le-a și înălțat până în primăvara anului 1907.<sup>142</sup> Aceste clădiri din strada Cuza Vodă nr. 34–36 sunt importante monumente locale ale secesionului lechnerian, remarcându-se

prin volumetria generoasă a aticului curbat și ornamentația specifică stilului. Tot în 1906, la 31 august, s-a aprobat proiectul casei cu două apartamente a lui Vilmos Feigenbaum în curtea terenului din piața Trandafirilor nr. 43, al cărei stil concordă cu cele văzute până acum, Keleti reușind să și termine construcția până în iunie 1907.<sup>143</sup> La începutul anului 1907 a proiectat casa lui György Eperjesy de pe strada Régibármvásár (azi Áron Márton): clădirea, în prezent transformată, prin desenul exigent, liniile ondulate ale fațadei, aticul curbat, sau decorativul turn de colț, se număra inițial, și ea, între remarcabilele realizări locale ale stilului.<sup>144</sup> Tot de la Feigenbaum a primit, în 1907, prima sa comandă de mare anvergură, construirea unei case de raport cu două etaje în partea dinspre piață a terenului sus amintit.<sup>145</sup>

<sup>139</sup> *Építő Ipar* 29, 27, (2 iulie 1905), 242.

<sup>140</sup> BREVETE, p. 75.

<sup>141</sup> BREVETE, p. 100.

<sup>142</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI 3722/1907.

<sup>143</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI 3600/1907.

<sup>144</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI 8682/1908.

<sup>145</sup> CĂPITĂANIA DE POLIȚIE 4757/1907.





Fig. 18. Colectorul superior al burlanului (fotografia autorului, 2018).

Fațada impozantă, proiectată de Keleti,<sup>146</sup> se numără printre cele mai reprezentative monumente ale stilului lechnerian din oraș, inspirată de iconica realizare a lui Lechner, Casa Poștală de Economii din Budapesta. Construcția însă s-a desfășurat sub auspicii nefaste: plafonul executat dintr-un fier-beton de slabă calitate s-a prăbușit, rănindu-i grav pe muncitori, vestea nenorocirii ajungând rapid și în presa din capitală.<sup>147</sup> Deși ziarele locale învinuiau firma Székely și Faragó din Budapesta,<sup>148</sup> care a și refăcut lucrările în 1908,<sup>149</sup>

situația a știrbit probabil și reputația lui Keleti. Cert este, că în anii următori nu-i mai întâlnim numele la lucrări de asemenea anvergură.

Rămâne, însă, prezent, în mod permanent, în arhitectura orașului: în anul 1907 devine membru al conducerii Cooperativei Industriale de Credit din Târgu Mureș,<sup>150</sup> iar în 1911 este amintit ca proprietarul unei firme cu 25 de muncitori.<sup>151</sup> Se pare că a apreciat personalul calificat pe șantierele sale: a angajat zidari dintre absolvenții școlii profesionale din oraș, iar ucenicii săi au participat la cursurile de perfecționare ale școlii.<sup>152</sup> Potrivit izvoarelor aflate în arhiva orașului, în 1908 a transformat un grajd în curtea văduvei contelui Otto von Bissingen.<sup>153</sup> În 1909 a adăugat un corp aripii din curte a casei lui Károly Bartscht, de pe strada Sfântu Gheorghe, folosirea cărămizii aparente în zona ancadramentelor indicând deschiderea atelierului lui Keleti spre noi tendințe ale secesionului.<sup>154</sup> Tot în acest an, Jakab Katzer îi încredințează renovarea casei sale.<sup>155</sup> Printre lucrările mai importante din această perioadă se numără modificarea spațiilor interioare ale cafenelei Korzó la parterul palatului Bissingen, tot în 1910,<sup>156</sup> an în care proiectează și clădirile simple la curte din strada Ferenc Deák (azi piața Victoriei) ale lui Sándor Both,<sup>157</sup> de asemenea o simplă casă de locuit în curte, pentru Antal Bodnár, pe strada Ernő Kiss (azi Traian Moșoiu), luată în folosință abia peste doi ani.<sup>158</sup> Potrivit relatărilor presei, în 1914, Keleti realizează planul galantarului drogheriei lui Bodnár din piața Széchenyi nr. 51, din marmură neagră și roșie, cu suprafețe aurite, de o exigență artistică deosebită.<sup>159</sup> În 1911, proiectează pentru Goldstein Hermann o clădire supraetajată în

<sup>146</sup> *Székely Lapok* 27, 68 (19 aprilie 1907), 3.

<sup>147</sup> *Budapesti Hírlap* 17, 269 (13 noiembrie 1907), 9.

<sup>148</sup> *Székely Lapok* 37, 259 (13 noiembrie 1907), 3.

<sup>149</sup> CĂPITĂANIA DE POLIȚIE, 10908/1907.

<sup>150</sup> *Központi Értesítő* 32, 87 (31 octombrie 1907), 2060.

<sup>151</sup> Firmă înființată în anul 1910. FODOR 2016, 68.

<sup>152</sup> *ÉRTESÍTŐ SZAKISKOLA* 1908, 25, 28.

<sup>153</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 4780/1908.

<sup>154</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 4285/1909. (str. Revoluției nr. 17)

<sup>155</sup> CĂPITĂANIA DE POLIȚIE 4547, 4759/1909. (piața Petőfi nr. 1)

<sup>156</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI 4855/1910.

<sup>157</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI 6665/1910.

<sup>158</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI 6637/1913.

<sup>159</sup> *Új drogéria, Székely Napló* 44, 65 (28 aprilie 1914), 2. Vezi SEBESTYÉN 2016, 149.



piața György Bernády de astăzi, care nu va mai fi realizată, dar proiectul semnaleză fără dubiu

că autorul lui a adoptat deja un stil geometrizarant mult mai simplificat.<sup>160</sup>

## LOCUL CLĂDIRII ÎN ARHITECTURA ORAȘULUI

Casa de locuit, de mici dimensiuni, construită de văduva lui Adolf Hirschmann în 1905, se numără între primele edificii târgumureșene concepute clar și inconfundabil în varianta lechneriană a stilului secesion, inspirată din creația renumitului arhitect din Budapesta, Ödön Lechner (1845–1914), promotor și teoretician al stilului național în arhitectura maghiară. Bogata activitate, practică și teoretică a lui Lechner, este marcată de căutarea unui nou limbaj arhitectural național, inspirat în primul rând din arta populară maghiară și din presupusele origini orientale, prezentând un interes deosebit pentru problemele ornamentației. La începutul noului secol, arta și ideile lui Lechner au fost deja răspândite de numeroșii săi discipoli pe tot teritoriul Ungariei.<sup>161</sup> Aceste tendințe arhitecturale, de altfel variate, marcate de ideile lui Lechner, de obicei, sunt descrise în literatura de specialitate maghiară cu termenul „magyaros szecesszió”, de unde provine și denumirea frecvent folosită în literatura românească, stil secesion maghiar.

La Târgu Mureș, secesionul s-a ivit, în primul rând, în contextul construcțiilor publice, prin proiecte elaborate în renumite birouri de arhitectură ale capitalei. Pionierul noului val, sediul Băncii Agrare, s-a construit în 1900, și, pe lângă elementele limbajului decorativ al artei populare maghiare, prezintă, de asemenea, o marcantă arhitectură individuală, specifică perioadei de creație timpurie a lui Gyula Sándy

(1868–1953).<sup>162</sup> În 1903 au fost elaborate proiectele azilului de copii,<sup>163</sup> realizate tot de arhitecți budapeșteni,<sup>164</sup> cu soluții structurale și elemente decorative preluate din arhitectura populară.<sup>165</sup> Analizând, însă, autorizațiile de construcție din primii ani ai noului secol se pare, că secesionul nu a pătruns încă nici pe departe în adâncurile arhitecturii târgumureșene – marea majoritate a caselor reflectă, în continuare, maniera conservatoare a istorismului. Caracteristicile noului stil rămân sporadice și se manifestă, mai degrabă, în ornamentație sau în detalii, pe un fond arhitectural convențional. Aceste exemple timpurii de secesion, cum ar fi sgraffito-ul și feronieria fațadei casei Bodolla (1901–1902),<sup>166</sup> compozițiile florale din sprânceana ferestrelor de pe fațada laterală a casei Bissingen (1902),<sup>167</sup> sau motivele vegetale ale fațadei casei lui Lajos Bustya (1903),<sup>168</sup> demonstrează apariția concomitentă a motivelor secesionului maghiar și a celor inspirate din alte variante europene ale stilului.<sup>169</sup>

În stadiul actual al cercetărilor, se pare că exact anul construcției casei Hirschmann, 1905, este anul de cotitură, când devin mai numeroase (deși nu majoritare) proiectele concepute, clar, sub influența secesionului. În aprilie a fost obținută autorizația de construcție a vilei fotografului local Géza Csonka, un plan deosebit, de inspirație Jugendstil și Art Nouveau de factură belgiană, contrasemnat de maistrul local Lajos Bustya,<sup>170</sup> având analogii directe în arhitectura

<sup>160</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 8264/1911.

<sup>161</sup> SISA 2014; JÉKELY 2015; BRUNNER–VERESS 2017.

<sup>162</sup> Studii monografice despre activitatea lui Sándy: BODÓ 2013, 143–156; BODÓ 2015, 264–291.

<sup>163</sup> MAN 2009, 398–401.

<sup>164</sup> Lajos Ybl (1855–1934) și Győző Czigler (1850–1905).

<sup>165</sup> Lucrare executată de maistrul constructor Lajos Csiszár. Planurile clădirii: ACTE TEHNICE, LIII, f. 18.

<sup>166</sup> Este rezultatul unei schimbări radicale ale programului decorativ, intervenită pe parcursul proiectării. Vezi Oniga Erika, *Bodolla Ferenc háza* (<http://topographia.ro/topografia/epulet/bodolla-ferenc-haza-42.html>, 18 aprilie 2018)

<sup>167</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 2897/1902.

<sup>168</sup> CĂPITANIA DE POLIȚIE 5275/1903.

<sup>169</sup> Menționăm și fațada casei de locuit a lui Lajos Csiszár, autorizată în 1902, pe planul căreia într-un cadru eclectic apar deja elementele florale inspirate de secesionul maghiar (azi demolată). MAN 2009, 238–239, 251.

<sup>170</sup> Cererea a fost depusă în toamna anului 1904. MAN 2009, 417, 488, vezi și CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI 6737/1904.



capitalei. Cele două construcții reprezentative ale pieței centrale, începute tot în 1905, casa fabricantului Hermann Farkas<sup>171</sup> și restaurantul lui György László (viitorul Hotel Royal),<sup>172</sup> sunt marcate, mai degrabă, de influența secesionului vienez, prezentă la nivelul decorului. Aici amin-tim și fațada clădirii comandate de comercianții de alcool Pál Milhoffer și Mór Kandarsz pe strada Kossuth (Călărașilor).<sup>173</sup> În domeniul construcțiilor publice, tot în acest an, au fost începute cele cinci școli de stat, proiectate la Budapesta, de către arhitectul Sándor Baumgarten (1864–1928), ale căror fațade tind spre un stil mai rigid, tot de inspirație vieneză,<sup>174</sup> în cazul școlii civile de băieți, din piața Bernády de astăzi, într-o formă mai exigentă.<sup>175</sup>

Aceste construcții, ale anului 1905, nu prezintă legături directe cu formele decorative ale secesionului maghiar (deși, concursul organizat în

acest an, pentru realizarea planurilor primăriei, a prevestit ascensiunea stilului, la cel mai înalt nivel în arhitectura orașului). Casa Hirschmann, însă, a fost concepută integral sub influența lui Lechner și poate fi socotită un exemplu elocvent al stilului, fapt demonstrat de structurile volumetrice ale clădirii, de aticul curbat, de liniile ondulate ale fațadei, de ornamentația inspirată din arta populară, și, respectiv, de tâmplăria ferestrelor existentă într-o formă identică la capodoperele arhitecturale ale maestrului. Aceste elemente inconfundabile sunt prezente și la alte realizări locale ale lui Keleti, care, astfel, devine un important actor al introducerii și statornicirii formelor lechneriene în oraș. Așadar, micul edificiu al văduvei Hirschmann poate fi considerat un pionier al acestui stil, realizat cu puțin timp înainte de operele reprezentative, precum Primăria Veche (1906–1908)<sup>176</sup> și Colegiul Reformat (1908–1909).<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI 3005/1906.

<sup>172</sup> Autorizația de construcție a fost emisă în data de 9 mai 1905 (CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 2418/1905). Proiectantul nu se cunoaște, executantul a fost maistrul local Pál Soós, vezi *Székely Lapok* 35, 105 (9 mai 1905), 3.

<sup>173</sup> MAN 2009, 411, 456.

<sup>174</sup> ACTE TEHNICE, XLIV–XLVII.

<sup>175</sup> Fațadă reproiectată în 1906 de către Sándor Radó. MAN 2015b, 268–269.

<sup>176</sup> ONIGA 2012, 21–39.

<sup>177</sup> ONIGA 2013, 143–169.



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## Izvoare de arhivă

### ACTE TEHNICE

Serviciul Județean Mureș al Arhivelor Naționale Române, Fond Primăria Târgu Mureș, Acte tehnice (nr. inv. 109).

ANU, F 49

Arhivele Naționale ale Ungariei, Arhivele Centrale (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest), Gubernium Transylvanicum, F 49, Conscriptii mixte.

ANU, MATRICOLE

Arhivele Naționale ale Ungariei, Arhivele Centrale (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest), Colecția de matricole parohiale.

ANU, P 676

Arhivele Naționale ale Ungariei, Arhivele Centrale (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest), Arhivele din Târgu Mureș ale familiei Teleki, P 676, Földvári család levéltára.

### BREVETE

Serviciul Județean Mureș al Arhivelor Naționale Române, Fond Primăria Târgu Mureș, Protocoale și registre ale magistratului (nr. inv. 118), nr. 449. Evidența brevetelor de patroni B I, 1884–1922.

### CĂPITANIA DE POLIȚIE

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### CONSCRIPTII

Serviciul Județean Mureș al Arhivelor Naționale Române, Fond Primăria Târgu Mureș, Conscriptii și recensământe (nr. inv. 119).

### CONSILIUL MUNICIPAL

Serviciul Județean Mureș al Arhivelor Naționale Române, Fond Primăria Târgu Mureș, Consiliul municipal (nr. inv. 117).

### CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI

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### ICE

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### MATRICOLE PAROHIALE

Serviciul Județean Cluj al Arhivelor Naționale Române, Colecția matricole parohiale de stare civilă.

### OSZK

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Primăria Târgu Mureș

Arhiva Primăriei Municipiului Târgu Mureș.



## RAGCL

Arhiva Regiei Autonome de Gospodărie Comunală și Locativă Târgu Mureș.

## VARIA

Serviciul Județean Mureș al Arhivelor Naționale Române, Fond Primăria Târgu Mureș, Varia (nr. inv. 1445).

## THE HISTORY OF THE HIRSCHMANN HOUSE AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE HUNGARIAN ARCHITECTURAL SECESSION IN TÂRGU MUREȘ (Summary)

Our study presents the history of the Secession style residential house located under nr. 18 on the Trandafirilor market square in Târgu Mureș, which previously was a modest Baroque style ground floor house with high pitch roof. In the last decades of the nineteenth century the owner was Adolf Hirschmann, and after his death in 1887, the house remained in the possession of his widow, Ida Baruch. On the 28th of August 1905 the widow received the construction permit to erect the Art Nouveau style house that can be seen even today. The construction was already finalized in the spring of 1906. The preserved data indicates that the constructions were led by architect Béla Keleti, who in 1907 also elaborated a plan for the fence of the house. These years brought change to the surrounding environment of the building as well. In 1902, the left side neighbor, widow of Otto Bissingen had built a ground floor row of bazaars based on the plans elaborated by Pál Soós immediately next to the house plot of Mrs. Hirschmann. Thus, the area in front of it had opened the access for pedestrians. Mrs. Bissingen offered the territory to the town in order to establish an alley but according to all signs this took place only ten years later.

The widow of Adolf Hirschmann passed away in 1924 and her house passed on to the tradesman Sándor Vámos, then after his perish in Auschwitz, to his son Géza. The communist state authority nationalized the house from him. A new, radical change took place in the history of the house in the middle of the 1980s, when as a postlude of the transformation of the theater square the entire court wing of the house was demolished and on its place a new modern building was erected, which stands even today. However, the most valuable building from the perspective of art history, the block that

overlooks the main square was preserved and renewed.

The residential building erected in 1905 is considered to be one of the early monuments of the so-called Hungarian architectural Secession in Târgu Mureș. The decorative elements of the façade, the attic decorated with wave lines and the shape of the windows clearly reflect the work of Ödön Lechner (1845–1914), one of the early representatives of the Hungarian architectural Secession movement and a high-impact architect, and the details of his main works in Budapest, similarly to other works of Béla Keleti in Târgu Mureș. That is why, we tried to track down the almost completely unknown carrier of Béla Keleti. His original surname was Keller, the family changed it to Keleti in 1886. He was born in Budapest in 1867 as the son of master tailor János Keller but shortly the family moved to Cluj-Napoca. In 1883 he became a student at the Industrial School in Budapest and in 1887 successfully completed the courses at the department of architecture, where besides his teachers the architectural dynamism of the rapidly developing capital must have had a great impact on him. After, he worked in the office of the distinguished Hungarian architect Ignác Alpár. He established his own enterprise in Cluj-Napoca in the 1890s. In the middle of the first decade of the next century one finds him in Târgu Mureș, a town which then faced an exploding architectural development. Here, from his works besides the Hirschmann house we can highlight the houses of Vilmos Feigenbaum from the main square (1906–1907) and the two residential buildings of Ödön Marosi (1906) or the house of György Eperjesy (1907). All these are reckoned as important local examples of the Hungarian architectural Secession.



## ABBREVIATIONS

|                      |                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>AA</i>            | Archäologischer Anzeiger. Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Institut, Berlin                                                                                            |
| <i>Acta</i>          | Acta (Siculica), Muzeul Național Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe                                                                                                                      |
| <i>ActaAC</i>        | Acta Archaeologica Carpathica, Academia Scientiarum Polona Collegium Cracoviense, Kraków                                                                                        |
| <i>ActaMN</i>        | Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>ActaMP</i>        | Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>ActaTS</i>        | Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Sibiu                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>AnnalesUA, SH</i> | Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica, Alba Iulia                                                                                                                   |
| <i>Angustia</i>      | Angustia, Muzeul Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe                                                                                                                         |
| <i>Antaeus</i>       | Antaeus. Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest                                                                                  |
| <i>Apulum</i>        | Apulum, Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>ArchÉrt</i>       | Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>ArchKorr</i>      | Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum, Mainz                                                                                                   |
| <i>ArhMold</i>       | Arheologia Moldovei, Iași                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>ASZ</i>           | Agrártörténeti Szemle                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>AttiSocFriuli</i> | Atti della Società per la preistoria e protostoria della Regione Friuli – Venezia Giulia                                                                                        |
| <i>AVSL (NF)</i>     | Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, (Neue Folge), Hermannstadt                                                                                                  |
| <i>BAI</i>           | Bibliotheca Archaeologica Iassiensis, Iași                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>BAM</i>           | Bibliotheca Archaeologica Moldaviae, Iași                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>Banatica</i>      | Banatica, Muzeul de istorie al județului Caraș-Severin, Reșița                                                                                                                  |
| <i>BAR</i>           | British Archaeological Reports, International Series / British Series, Oxford                                                                                                   |
| <i>BCMI</i>          | Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>BMA</i>           | Biblioteca Mvsei Apvlensis, Alba Iulia                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>BMM</i>           | Bibliotheca Mvsei Marisiensis, Archaeologia, Târgu Mureș / Cluj Napoca                                                                                                          |
| <i>BMN</i>           | Bibliotheca Mvsei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>BMP</i>           | Bibliotheca Mvsei Porolissensis, Zalău                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>BudRég</i>        | Budapest Régiségei, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, Budapest                                                                                                                        |
| <i>CA</i>            | Cercetări Arheologice, București                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>CCA</i>           | Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București                                                                                                                         |
| <i>CMM</i>           | Catalogi Musei Marisiensis, archaeologia, Târgu Mureș                                                                                                                           |
| <i>ComArchHung</i>   | Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae, Budapest                                                                                                                              |
| <i>Cumidava</i>      | Cumidava, Anuarul Muzeelor Brașovene                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>CsSzMÉ</i>        | Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve, Csíkszereda                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>Dacia (N. S.)</i> | Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, I–XII (1924–1948), București; Nouvelle série (N. S.), Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București |



|                             |                                                                                                                                                      |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>DissPann</i>             | Dissertationes Pannonicae, ex Instituto Numismatico et Archaeologico Universitatis de Petro Pázmány nominatae Budapestinensis provenientes, Budapest |
| <i>DolgKolozsvar</i> (Ú.S.) | Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, (új sorozat, 2006–), Kolozsvár                                                         |
| <i>Drobeta</i>              | Drobeta, Muzeul Regiunii Porților de Fier                                                                                                            |
| <i>EJA</i>                  | European Journal of Archaeology                                                                                                                      |
| <i>EMúz</i>                 | Erdélyi Múzeum, Kolozsvár                                                                                                                            |
| <i>EphemNap</i>             | Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca                                                                                                                    |
| <i>ESzNMJ</i>               | Emlékkönyv a Székely Nemzeti Múzeum 50 éves jubileumára                                                                                              |
| <i>FK</i>                   | Földtani Közlöny, Budapest                                                                                                                           |
| <i>Hesperia</i>             | Hesperia, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens                                                                                         |
| <i>Hydrobiologia</i>        | Hydrobiologia. The International Journal of Aquatic Sciences                                                                                         |
| <i>JAMÉ</i>                 | A Nyíregyházi Jósza András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza                                                                                              |
| <i>JQS</i>                  | Journal of Quaternary Science                                                                                                                        |
| <i>JRA</i>                  | Journal of Roman Archaeology                                                                                                                         |
| <i>Lymbus</i>               | Lymbus. Magyaraságtudományi Forrásközlemények, Budapest                                                                                              |
| <i>Marisia</i>              | Marisia (V–), Studii și Materiale, Târgu Mureș                                                                                                       |
| <i>MCA</i>                  | Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, București                                                                                                        |
| <i>MIMK</i>                 | Molnár István Múzeum Kiadványai, Cristuru Secuiesc/Székelykeresztúr                                                                                  |
| <i>MNy</i>                  | Magyar Nyelv, Budapest                                                                                                                               |
| <i>Művészet</i>             | Művészet, Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat, Budapest                                                                                          |
| <i>NK</i>                   | Numizmatikai Közlöny, Budapest                                                                                                                       |
| <i>NyIK</i>                 | Nyelv- és irodalomtudományi közlemények                                                                                                              |
| <i>NumZ</i>                 | Numismatische Zeitschrift, Wien                                                                                                                      |
| <i>RevBis</i>               | Revista Bistriței, Complexul Județean Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud                                                                                         |
| <i>RevIst</i>               | Revista Istorică, București                                                                                                                          |
| <i>Sargetia</i>             | Sargetia, Buletinul Muzeului județului Hunedoara, Acta Musei Devensis, Deva                                                                          |
| <i>SCIV(A)</i>              | Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie 1974–), București                                                                                |
| <i>StComSM</i>              | Studii și Comunicări Satu Mare                                                                                                                       |
| <i>StudiaAA</i>             | Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași                                                                                                                |
| <i>Studia UBB</i>           | Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, series Historia, Cluj-Napoca                                                                                      |
| <i>Studia UBB, TCV</i>      | Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, series Theologia Catholica Varadinensis                                                                           |
| <i>Studii</i>               | Studii. Revistă de Istorie, București                                                                                                                |
| <i>Suceava</i>              | Suceava, Anuarul Complexului Muzeal Bucovina                                                                                                         |
| <i>Századok</i>             | Századok, A Magyar Történelmi Társulat folyóirata                                                                                                    |
| <i>Terra Sebus</i>          | Terra Sebus, Acta Musei Sabesiensis, Sebeș                                                                                                           |
| <i>VAH</i>                  | Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, Budapest                                                                                                              |
| <i>WMMÉ</i>                 | Wosinsky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve, Szekszárd                                                                                                              |
| <i>Ziridava (StudArch)</i>  | Ziridava (Studia Archaeologica 2010–), Arad                                                                                                          |











